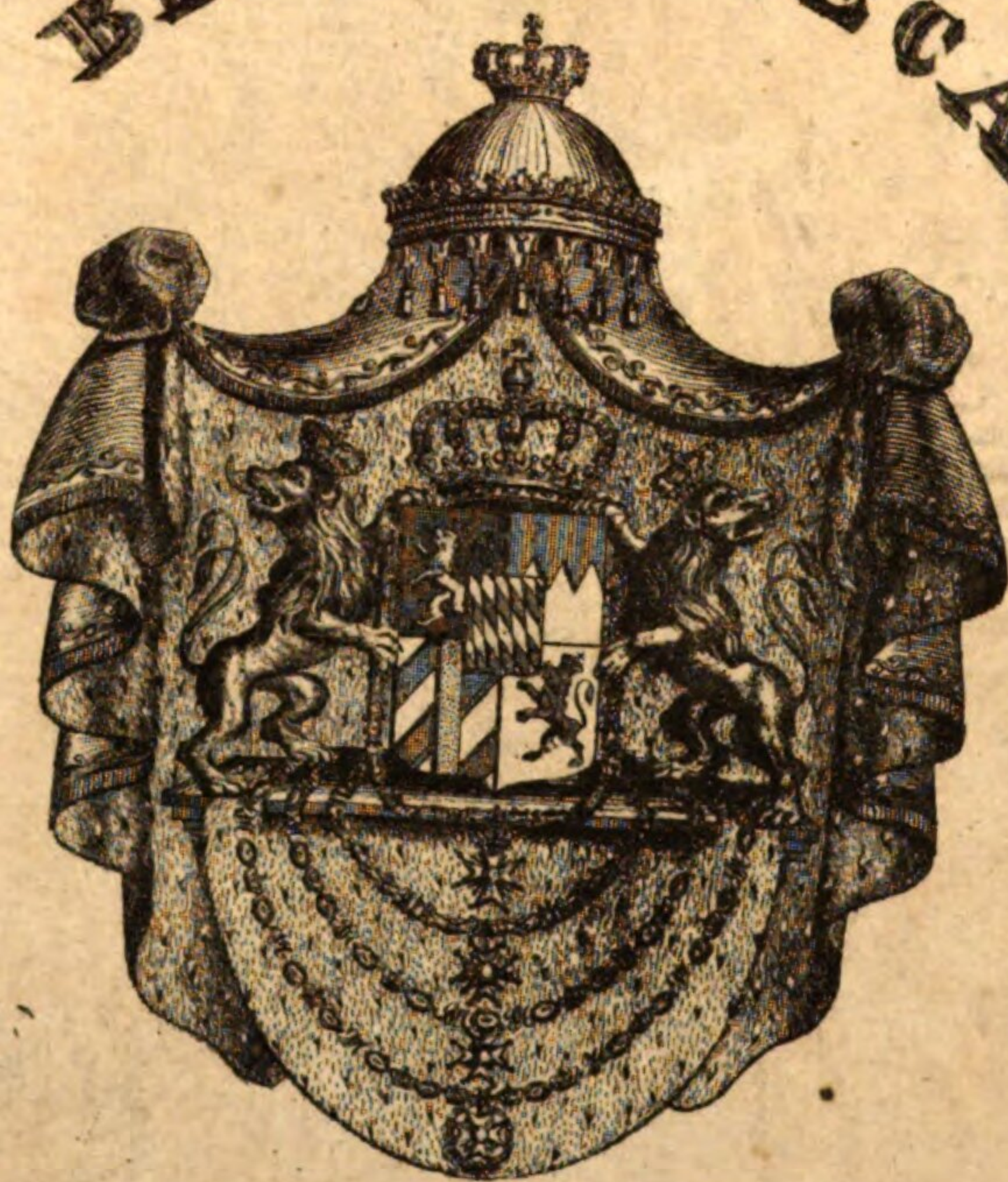


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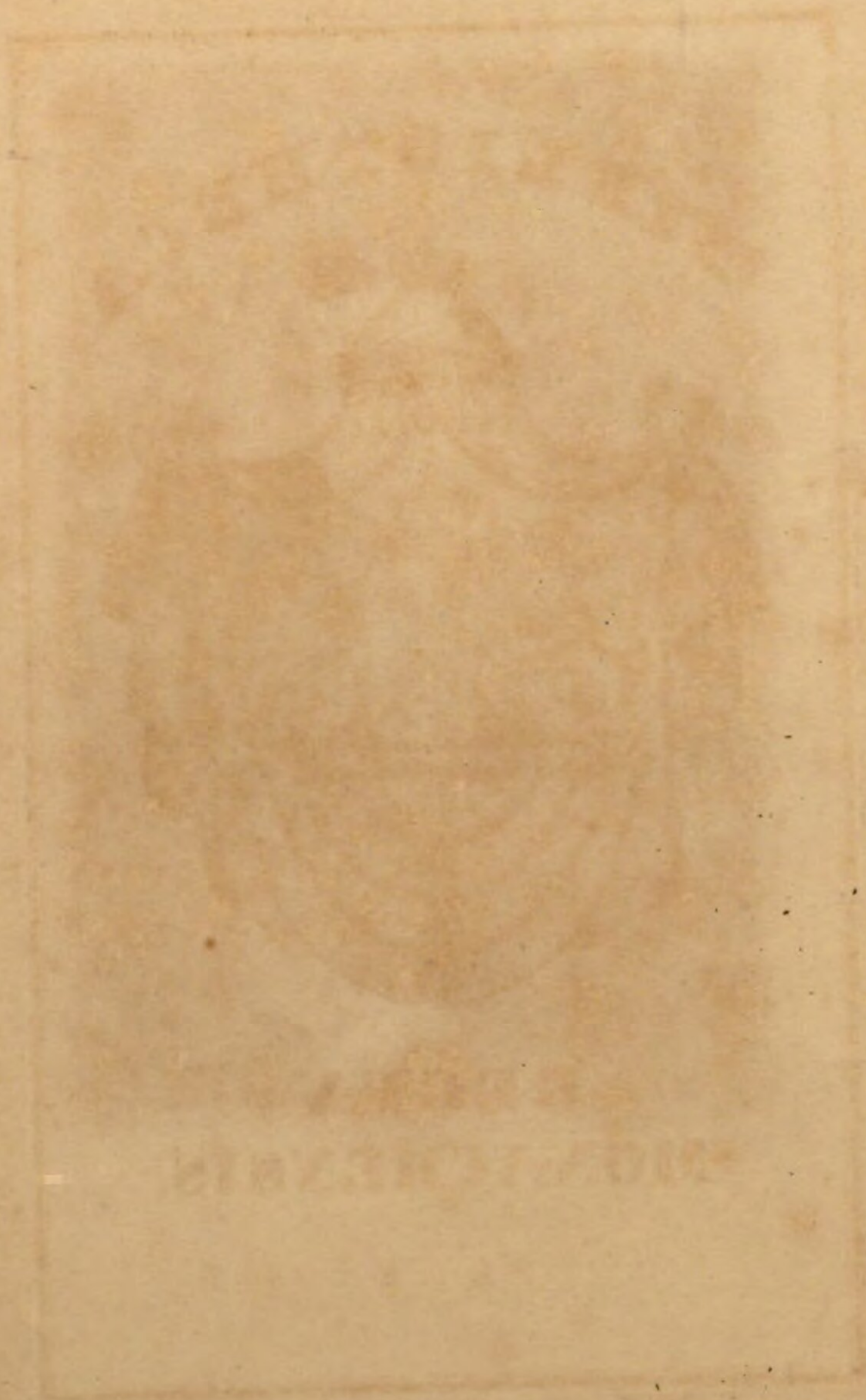
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Thomas May, Esq.^r
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND,

WHICH BEGAN NOVEMBER THE THIRD, M.DC.XL.;

WITH
A SHORT AND NECESSARY VIEW OF SOME PRECEDENT YEARS.

WRITTEN BY THOMAS MAY, Esq.
SECRETARY FOR THE PARLIAMENT.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

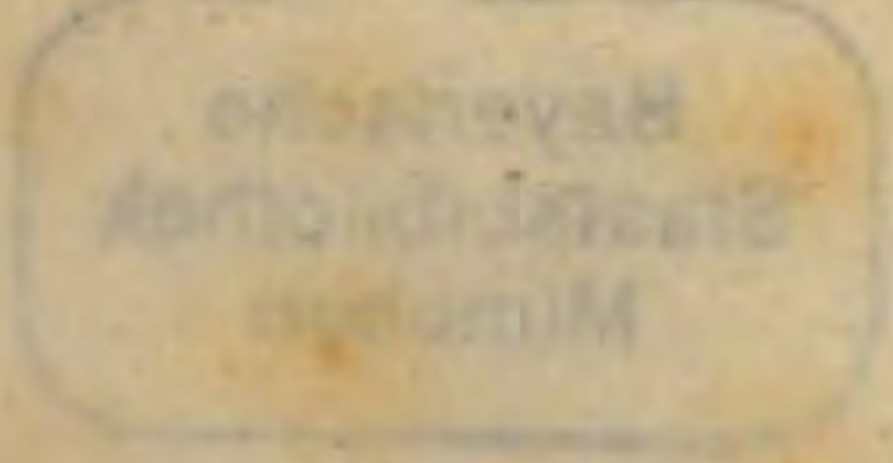
*Tempora mutantur.
Mutantur Homines.
Veritas eadem manet.*

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1812.



HISTORY

PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND

WHICH BEGAN IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE FIRST

A SHORT AND NECESSARY VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENTS OF ENGLAND

WRITTEN BY

PUBLISHED BY

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A P R E F A C E

TO THE

PRESENT EDITION OF THIS HISTORY.

THE following History of the Parliament of England, which begun on the 3rd day of November, in the year 1640, and which has since been usually distinguished by the name of *the Long Parliament*, was written by *Thomas May, Esquire*, a Gentleman of great Genius and Litterary attainments, who flourished in the reign of King Charles the First. He was born at Mayfield, in the County of Sussex, in the year 1595, and was the eldest son of *Sir Thomas May*, a Knight, who lived at that place, and who seems to have been possessed of a competent estate in that neighbourhood, which was sufficient to maintain him in the condition of an Independant Gentleman; as it does not appear that he was engaged in any of the Professions. And the liberal education which he gave his eldest son, our Author, seems to confirm this supposition of the Independance of *Sir Thomas May's* circumstances: for, after having sent him to some good school in the neighbourhood of *Mayfield*, in the early part of his youth, in which he made an uncommon progress in the acquisition of the learned Languages;) *Sir Thomas May* entered him at *Sidney-Sussex College*, in the University of Cambridge, in the rank of a *Fellow-commoner*, which is the upper Class of Students there, into which the eldest sons of the affluent and independant gentlemen of England are usually admitted. And here our Author continued his classical studies with great assiduity and success, and laid-in a copious stock of that elegant Literature,

ture, and familiar acquaintance with the best Poets and Historians of Antiquity, for which he was afterwards so much celebrated. And in the year 1612, he took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, being then only 17 years of age; it being the custom, in those days, to remove young scholars from Grammar-schools, to the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, about three years earlier than is done at present, or for the last 60 or 70 years. But, after taking the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in the University of Cambridge, it does not appear that our Author ever took any other Degree there.

From the year 1612, (when he was 17 years old,) to the year 1615 (when he was twenty years of age,) it does not appear where Mr. May resided: though it seems reasonable to suppose that it was partly at Cambridge, and partly with his father in Sussex. But in the month of August, 1615, he was admitted a Student of the Law in the Society of Gray's Inn. And from that time he resided chiefly either at that Inn of Court, or in some other part of London, for more than twenty years; during which time he devoted himself much to the study and cultivation of Poetry, and, in consequence of his success in that elegant Art, became familiarly acquainted with the most eminent Courtiers and Wits of those times, and particularly with *Sir Kenelm Digby*, *Sir Richard Fanshaw*, *Sir John Suckling*, *Sir Aston Cokaine*, *Mr. Thomas Carew* (one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-chamber to King Charles,) and *Endymion Porter*, (one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber,) besides *Ben. Jonson* (the celebrated Dramatic Poet,) and many other persons of higher quality, who were Poets themselves, and lovers of Poetry in others, amongst whom they admitted Mr. May to have a strong claim to be distinguished. And it was in the course of these 20 years (from the year 1615, to the year 1635,) that *Mr. May* made an excellent translation, in verse, of *Lucan's* noble historical Poem on the Civil War of Rome, between *Pompey the Great* and *Julius Cæsar*, intitled *Pharsalia*: which translation was first published in the year 1627, or the second year of the Reign of King Charles the First, and when Mr. May was 32 years old; and was published a second time in the year 1630, or when Mr. May was 35 years old; and was then accompanied with a continuation of the Poem in seven additional books, in English verse (like the translation of *Lucan's* work,) which carry the History of that destructive Civil War, to the death of *Julius Cæsar* in the Capitol,

by

by the hands of several Senators of Rome, who had conspired against him; who, for the most part, (or with the exception of only *Marcus Brutus* and *Caius Cassius*, and, perhaps, two or three persons more,) were Officers of his own Army, but yet thought it to be their duty to put him to death, when they found that he was resolved to terminate the long series of Victories which they had helped him to gain, with a total suppression of the Liberties of their Country. With this grand and awful event, (which afforded an example of the punishment due to ambitious men, who employ their great talents to the destruction of Publick Liberty,) Mr. May thought the Poem ought to end: and it may reasonably be supposed that he thought that Lucan himself would have closed his Poem with the description of that catastrophe, if he had lived to bring it to a conclusion.

And, after having published this Continuation of Lucan's Poem, in seven additional Books in English verse, in the year 1630, he translated it into Latin Verse, and caused the translation to be printed at Leyden in Holland, where it was much admired by learned Foreigners, and thought to be not inferiour, in the purity of the Latin, and the harmony of the Verses, to the Verses of Lucan himself.

This translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, with the Continuation of it in English Verse, and the translation of the said Continuation into Latin Verse, are the principal works that have contributed to the reputation of *Mr. May* as a Poet. But they are not the only ones. For he also distinguished himself as a Dramatick writer, by writing five Plays, two Comedies, and three Tragedies. The first of his Comedies was intituled *The Heir*, and was acted at London in the Reign of King James the First, in the year 1620, when our Author was but 25 years old; and it was afterwards published in the year 1633; and it is spoken of by the writers of those times as an excellent performance. And his other Comedy, which was called *The Old Couple*, is thought to have been written about the same time as the former, and was also brought upon the Stage at London, and well received by the Publick, and it is said to have been esteemed but little inferiour to his former Comedy. His three Tragedies were intituled *Cleopatra*, Queen of Egypt; *Agrippina*, Empress of Rome; and *Antigoné*, the Theban Princess: but they seem to have been less admired than his Comedies. And he distinguished

guished himself by other elegant Publications both in Verse and Prose, before the beginning of the Long Parliament, of which he wrote the following History. He lived somewhat above a year after the death of King Charles the First, in January 1648-49, and died, almost suddenly, in the year 1650, in the 55th, or 56th, year of his age.

More particulars concerning the life and writings of this eminent Author may be seen under the article of his name, in the *Biographia Britannica*. But those that have been here set-forth, are sufficient to shew that he must have had excellent opportunities of knowing the several publick events, that happened throughout the whole Reign of King Charles the First, which began in the year 1625, (when *Mr. May* was 30 years of age,) and ended in the year 1648-49, when *Mr. May* was 54 years old. And, therefore, *Mr. May* seems to have been admirably well fitted to become the historian of the transactions of this whole Reign, and especially of the proceedings of the three first years of this Parliament, which met in November, 1640, if he possessed the Grand Requisite of a good historian, which is *Impartiality, or the Love of Truth.* Now "that he had this important Requisite," seems to be highly probable from the following considerations.

As his History of this Parliament was published so early as the year 1647, that is, less than seven years after the first meeting of it in November 1640, there must have been great numbers of persons living at the time of its publication, who had been witnesses of the several transactions recorded in it, and perfectly acquainted with all the circumstances belonging to them; and many of these persons would, no doubt, have been ready enough to contradict the accounts he had given of them in this History, and to point-out to the Publick the particular points in which he had mis-represented them, if those accounts had not been faithful. And yet I do not find than any writers of that time, from the month of May, 1647, when this History was published, to the month of May, 1660, when King Charles the Second was restored to his father's Throne, have ever contested the truth of the facts related in this History. And, therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that those facts are true.

And, further, we may observe that the facts related in this History are found to agree with the accounts given of them by *Mr. Whitlock* in his *Memorials*,

morials, and by others of the most sedate and exact historical writers of those times: which is an additional ground for supposing him to have been a very impartial, as well as a very well-informed and judicious, relater of the proceedings of that important Period of our History.

And, lastly, this History of the Parliament almost speaks for itself in support of the impartiality of its Author. For it is written in so calm and temperate a style, is so free from invective and animosity, and has every where such an air of candour and moderation, that it seems to be almost impossible for a reader of it not to suppose it to be impartial.

And, accordingly, this is the character that has generally been allowed to belong to this work, by the most diligent and critical inquirers into the English History: of which I will here give two examples by citing the opinions of two very eminent Persons to this purpose, namely, the late very learned Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, and the late very great Minister of State, in the three last years of the reign of King George the Second, Mr. William Pitt, who was afterwards created Earl of Chatham.

Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, in his familiar Letters to his intimate friend, Dr. Hurd, (who was afterwards Bishop of Worcester,) has two very remarkable passages relating to this work of Mr. May, which I will here transcribe from the collection of those Letters which was published a few years ago, soon after the death of Dr. Hurd.

The first of these passages occurs in a Letter of Bishop Warburton, to Dr. Hurd, dated on the 30th day of June, in the year 1753, and is in these words:

“As to the History of the Long Parliament, the principal Authors are, “*May’s History of the Parliament, Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, Rushworth’s Collections, and Walker’s History of Independency.* The first is an extraordinary Performance, little known; written with great Temper, Good-sense, and Spirit; and has the qualities of a regular Composition.”

The second passage is in a Letter to Dr. Hurd, dated on the 16th of August of the same year 1753, and is in these words:

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“*May’s*

“*May’s History of the Parliament* is a just Composition, according to the rules of History. It is written with much Judgement, Penetration, Manliness, and Spirit; and with a candour that will greatly increase your esteem, when you understand that he wrote by the order of his masters, the Parliament.”

The opinion of the great Mr. William Pitt, (afterwards Earl of Chatham,) occurs in a Letter to his Nephew, *Thomas Pitt, Esquire*, (his elder brother’s son,) who was then a young man and a student at *Clare-hall*, in the University of Cambridge, and who was afterwards created Lord Camelford; which Letter was dated on the 5th of September, 1754. The passage containing it is in these words:

“I desired you, some time since, to read Lord *Clarendon’s History of the Civil Wars*. I have lately read a much honester and more instructive book, of the same Period of History. It is the *History of the Parliament*, by *Thomas May, Esquire*. I will send it to you as soon as you return to Cambridge.”

These passages of the Letters of these two very eminent persons, are strong testimonies in favour of this excellent History, of which, however, I cannot find that there has ever been published any second Edition: and the copies of this first Edition of it, (which is printed in a thin folio volume in a very large type,) are now grown very scarce. I therefore hope that this new Edition of it, in the more commodious size of a quarto volume, and with the addition of short abstracts of it’s contents, printed in a smaller character in the margins of the pages, (which, though it is a practice that is now grown much out of fashion, appears to me a most important article for the convenience of the reader,) will be acceptable to the Publick.

At the end of this History, I have printed an Appendix to it, which contains all the Declarations, and Votes, and Messages of both Houses of Parliament to the King, with the King’s Answers to them, from the month of November, 1641, (when the King had returned from Scotland to London) to the 7th of the following month of March, 1641-42, when he had refused to reside at Westminster, near the Parliament, (in consequence of some popular tumults

mults that had arisen there, from which he apprehended danger to his person) and was retiring to the city of York, to raise a body of Troops there for his defence, under the name of a *Life-Guard*; which measure was soon after followed by an open civil-war. Amongst these Parliamentary Papers will be found first, the famous *Grand Remonstrance* of the House of Commons, presented to the King in December, 1641, which contains a just Picture of the several Grievances of the Nation, arising from the King's mis-government, from the beginning of his reign, and the King's Answer to it; and secondly, an account of the King's violent Entry into the House of Commons, on the 4th of January, 1641-42, attended by a body of 300 armed men, to seize the persons of five of the most eminent Members of the House, (Mr. Danzil Holles, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hamden, and Mr. Strode) in order to have them tried for High Treason, for what they had said and done, as Members of that House; together with an account of the altercation that took place between the King and the Parliament in consequence of that violent measure; and, thirdly, an account of several informations, that had been given to the Parliament, of Licences that had been granted, under the King's hand, to several Irish Officers of the Popish Religion, (some of whom had been bred in the wars in Flanders and Holland, in the service of the King of Spain) to go over to Ireland, where it was much to be feared, that they would engage in the Irish rebellion; and some of them had actually done so: from which informations the Parliament could not but entertain some suspicions that the King, though he might not have at first authorised and encouraged the Irish Papists to enter into this rebellion, (as those rebels declared that he *had* done, yet, now that the rebellion was on foot, was unwilling that it should be speedily suppressed; and was in hopes that he should receive some assistance from those rebels against the English Parliament. These informations received by the Parliament, and set forth in some of the latter Papers in this Appendix, are very positive and particular, and seem fully sufficient to justify the suspicions entertained by the Parliament, of the King's secret sentiments on this subject, and did certainly contribute very much to increase the jealousy they had conceived of his design to revoke all his late concessions, and to resume his former absolute authority, by any means that he could employ for that purpose. And, if that horrid Irish rebellion had not happened at the

time it did, and Ireland had continued for a year or two in the same state of peace and tranquillity in which it was when the King went to Scotland, in August, 1641, to meet his Parliament there, and settle the affairs of that Kingdom both in Church and State, (which he did to the thorough satisfaction of his Scottish subjects) it seems probable that, upon his return to London in the following month of November, 1641, he would have complied in like manner with his English Parliament, in all the further measures they would have proposed to him, for the compleat correction of the former abuses in the Government, both in Church and State, and for the rendering all these corrections and concessions permanent after the Dissolution of the present Parliament, so as to put them out of all danger of being rescinded, or revoked, either by the King himself or any of his successors to the Crown. And if this opinion is well founded, it will follow that that horrid rebellion in Ireland must be considered as having been the cause, not only of all the bloodshed, and robbery, and desolation, which it immediately spread over that island, but also of all the misery in which England was overwhelmed during the whole of the English civil-war, or for the space of more than nine years, to wit, from the summer of the year 1642, when it begun, to the end of the year, 1651, when, (after the great victory gained at Worcester, by the army of the Commonwealth of England, under the command of Oliver Cromwell, over the Scottish army, commanded by King Charles the Second) the whole Island of Great-Britain was restored to Peace.

It appears from the last paragraph of this History, in page 228 of this Edition, that Mr. May had intended to publish a Continuation of it, in which, as he informs us, *he proposed to give a large account of the cessation of arms made by the King with the Irish rebels, (soon after the relief of the city of Gloucester, by the Earl of Essex, in the summer of the year 1643,) and of the great victories which small numbers of the English Forces had obtained over great multitudes of those Irish rebels, before the time of that cessation; as also of the Covenant, which the English Parliament, and that part of the Nation that adhered to it, entered into, about this time, with their Brethren of Scotland, for the maintenance of the Religion and Liberties of the two Kingdoms.* But this design Mr. May did not carry into execution, though the

the reason of his declining to do so is not apparent. This omission is much to be regretted; as a clear and faithful account of these two Subjects;—the State of Ireland, after the Massacre of the Protestants, on the 23d of October, 1641, to the cessation of arms made with them, by the King's command, in the autumn of 1643; and the Treaty of the Covenant between the Parliaments of England and Scotland entered-into about the same time;—given us by the impartial pen of this intelligent writer, would have afforded great satisfaction to his readers. But our loss on this occasion may be, in some degree, repaired, with respect to the State of Ireland during those two years, or, at least, during the first part of them, by having recourse to the excellent History of the Irish Rebellion and Massacre, in October, 1643, written by *Sir John Temple*, who was Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and a Member of the King's Privy Council in Dublin at the very time of its breaking-out, and took a zealous and active part in the measures that were immediately employed for the preservation of that important city. This account of that horrid Event is universally allowed to be perfectly true and authentick, and is, indeed, made-up, in a great degree, of the depositions of several persons who were eye-witnesses of the various assaults, and murders, and robberies of the poor Protestants, by their perfidious Popish neighbours, with whom they had been living in the most friendly and unsuspecting familiarity for almost forty years. Its authenticity is therefore above all suspicion; and it was published before *Mr. May* wrote this History of the Parliament: for it is mentioned by him in the 81st page of this Volume, with the greatest approbation, where he calls it *the faithful relation of that Rebellion by a Noble Gentleman, whose place in that Kingdom gave him the means to know it*; and he declares that he had partly collected from it, what he himself had said in this History, concerning that shocking event. It therefore seems probable, that what is related on this subject by *Sir John Temple*, in his History of this Rebellion, will contain much of the same matter which would have been related by *Mr. May* concerning it, if he had executed his first design of continuing his History to a later Period: and, therefore, I think that the readers of this work of *Mr. May*, would do well to peruse *Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion* after it, as a proper Sequel,

Sequel, or Supplement, to it. The only Edition of *Sir John Temple's* Work that I have seen, was printed in the year 1746; and the copies of it, I am informed, are grown somewhat scarce. It would therefore be, probably, an acceptable service to the Lovers of Truth in the History of their Country, to publish another Edition of it. For the horrid event, of which it gives a faithful Relation, ought never to be forgot.

FRANCIS MASERES.

Inner Temple,
Nov. 28, 1811.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE use of History, and the just Rules for composure of it, have been so well and fully described heretofore by judicious Writers, that it were lost labour, and a needlesse extension of the present work, to insist, by way of Introduction, upon either of them. I could rather wish my abilities were such, as that the Reader, (to whose judgement it is left,) might finde those Rules to have been observed in the Narration itself, instead of being set-forth to him in the Preface by a vaine Anticipation.

I will only professe to follow that one Rule, *Truth*, to which all the rest (like the rest of Moral Vertues to that of Justice) may be reduced; against which there are many waies, besides plaine falsehood, wherein a Writer may offend. Some Historians, who seeme to abhorre direct falshood, have, notwithstanding, dressed Truth in such improper Vestments, as to seem to have brought her forth to act the same part that falshood would; and to have taught her, by Rhetorical disguises, partial concealments, and invective expressions, instead of informing, to seduce a Reader, and carry the judgement of Posterity after that Byas which themselves have made. It was the opinion of a learned Bishop of *England*, not long ago deceased, that the Annals of Cardinal *Baronius* did more wound the Protestant Cause, than the Controversies of *Bellarmino*: And it may well be true. For against the unexpected stroke of partial History the ward is not so ready, as against that Polemike writing, in which Hostility is professed with open face.

This fault I have endeavoured to avoid: But it is my misfortune to undertake a subject that is of such a nature that really to avoid partiality in treating it is not very easie: but to escape the suspicion,
or

or censure, of falling into it, is almost impossible for the clearest integrity that ever wrote. Other writers, as well as myself, will, I suppose, undertake to handle this subject: and, because none of them, perchance, may give perfect satisfaction, I shall, in the behalfe of us all, intreat the Reader, that, in his censure of our several productions, he would deale with the Writings of men as with mankind itselfe, call that *the best*, which is *the least bad*.

The Subject of this work is a Civil War;—a War indeed as much *more than Civil*, and as full of miracle, both in the causes and effects of it, as was ever observed in any Age;—a Warre as cruel as unnatural;—that has produced as much rage of Swords,—as much bitterness of Pens, both publike and private,—as was ever knowne; and has divided the understandings of men, as well as their affections, in so high a degree, that scarce could any vertue gaine due applause, any reason give satisfaction, or any Relation obtaine credit, unlesse amongst men of the same side. It were, therefore, a presumptuous madnesse, to think that this poore and weake Discourse, which can deserve no applause from either side, should obtaine from both so much as pardon; or that those Persons should agree in the judgement they will form of it who could never agree in any thing else.

I cannot, therefore, be so stupid, as not to be fully sensible of the difficulty of the taske imposed on me, or the great envy which attends it; which other men who have written Histories, upon farre lesse occasion, have discoursed of at large in their Prefaces. And *Tacitus* himselfe, complaining of those ill times which were the unhappy subject of his Annals, (though he wrote not in the time of the same Princes under whom those things were acted;) yet, (because the Families of many men who had then been ignominious, were yet in being,) could not but discourse how much happier those Writers had been, who had taken more ancient and prosperous times for their Argument; such (as he there expresses it,) as those times in which the great and glorious actions of the old Romans, their honourable Atchievements, and exemplary Vertues, are recorded.

And I could have wished more than my life (being myself inconsiderable) that, for the sake of the Publick, my Theme could rather have been the prosperity of these Nations, the Honour and happiness of this King, and such a blessed Condition of both, as might have reached all the ends for which Government was first ordained

ordained in the world, than the description of Shipwrecks, Ruines, and Desolations. Yet these things, truly recorded and observed, may be of good Use, and may benefit Posterity in divers kinds. For, though the present Actions, or rather sufferings, of these (once happy) Nations, are of so high a marke and consideration, as might, perchance, throw themselves into the knowledge of Posterity by Tradition, and the weight of their own Fame; Yet it may much conduce to the benefit that may arise from that knowledge, to have the true causes, original, and growth, of them represented by an honest Pen.

For the truth of this plaine and naked Discourse, which is here presented to the publike view, containing a briefe Narration of those Distractions which have fallen amongst us during the sitting of this present Parliament *; as also some passages, and visible Actions of the former Government (whether probably conducing to these present calamities, or not; of which let the Reader judge:) I appeale only to the memory of any Englishman, whose yeares have been enow to make him know the Actions that were done; and whose conversation has been enough publike, to let him heare the Common Voice and discourses of People upon those Actions;—to his memory, I say, do I appeale, whether such Actions were not done, and such Judgements made upon them, as are here related. In which, perchance, some Readers may be put in minde of their own thoughts heretofore, which thoughts have since, like *Nebuchadnezzar's* dreame, departed from them. An English Gentleman, who went to travel when this Parliament was called, and returned when these differences were growne among us, hearing what Discourses were daily made, affirmed, That the Parliament of *England* (in his opinion) was more mis-understood in *England* than at *Rome*; And that there was a greater need to remind our own Countrymen, than to informe strangers, of what was past; So much (said he) have they seemed to forget both the things themselves, and their own former Notions concerning them †.

But

* That is, from November 3rd, A. D. 1640, to September 27th, 1643, at which this History closes.

† The meaning of this passage seems to be, "That the English Noblemen and Gentlemen who now sided with the King against the Parliament, seemed to have forgot the sentiments of disgust
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But, where Warre continues, people are inforced to make their residence in *several* Quarters; and therefore *several*, according to the places where they converse, must their information be concerning the condition and state of things. From whence arises not onely a variety, but a great discrepancy for the most part, in the Writings of those who record the passages of such times. And therefore it has seldome happened, but that, in such times of calamity and Warre, Historians have much dissented from each other. *Franciscus Haræus* compiled Annals of the bloody and fierce Warres in the *Netherlands*, when some of those Provinces fell from the obedience of *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*: Which businesse he relates in such a way, as must, in probability, lead a Reader to believe that the King and his Officers were altogether innocent, and the people of those Countries the only causers of their own Calamity. *Meteranus* also wrote the History of those very times; which whoso reads, must needs make a contrary censure concerning the occasion of that Warre. The like discrepancy hath been found in Historians of all ages and Nations, and therefore ought not to be much wondered-at, if it should now happen.

But that which, of all othersubjects, is most likely to be differently related (because informations will not agree in such a distance) is concerning the actions of Warre and Souldiery; and in the time of this Warre, it is a thing of extreme difficulty (I might say, of impossibility) for those of one Party to be truly informed of all the Counsels, or the very Performances and Actions, of Commanders and Souldiers on the other side. How much valour the English Nation on both sides have been guilty of in this unnatural Warre, the World must needs know in the general fame. But for particulars, how much Worth, Virtue, and Courage, some particular Lords, Gentlemen, and others, have shewed, unlesse both sides

and indignation against the tyrannical government of the King, both in Civil and Ecclesiastical matters, which had been entertained by them, and continually expressed in their free and private conversations, before the meeting of the Parliament, and were now thwarting the Parliament in it's wise and vigorous endeavours, to restrain the King's power in such a manner as to prevent his revoking all his late concessions, and returning to the exercise of his former arbitrary authority, to which he was justly thought to be still secretly attached.

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do write, will never perfectly be known. My residence hath been, during these Wars, in the quarters, and under the protection, of the Parliament; and whatsoever is briefly related of the Souldiery, being toward the end of this Book, is according to that light which I discerned there. For whatsoever I have missed concerning the other Party, I can make no other Apology than such as *Meteranus* (whom I named before) doth in the Preface to his History, *De Belgicis tumultibus*. Whose words are thus: *Quòd plura de Reformatorum, & patriæ defensorum, quàm de Partis adversæ rebus gestis exposuerim; mirum haudquaquam est: quoniam plus Commercii & familiaritatis mihi cum ipsis, & major indagandi opportunitas, fuit. Si Pars adversa idem tali probitate præstiterit & ediderit; Posteritas gesta omnia legere, & liquidò cognoscere, magno cum fructu poterit.* In like manner may I averre, that, if in this discourse more particulars are set-down, concerning the actions of those men who defended the Parliament, than of those that warred against it; it was, because my conversation gave me more light on that side; to whom, as I have endeavoured to give no more than what is due, so I have cast no blemishes on the other; nor bestowed any more characters than what the truth of Story must require. If those that write on the other side will use the same candour, there is no feare but that posterity may receive a full information concerning the unhappy distractions of these Kingdoms.

This I must adde, that to inform the world of the right nature, causes, and growth of these Distractions, it will require that the Discourse begin from preecedent times; which I shall endeavour to deduce down to the present time with as much brevity as the necessity of unfolding truth can possibly admit.

Neither is it needful to begin the Story from times of any great distance; or to mention the Government of our most ancient Princes; but from that Prince* (fresh in the memory of some yet

* Queen Elizabeth, who died in the year 1603, only 37 years before the meeting of the Parliament which is the subject of this History, which was in November, 1640.

living) who first established the Reformed Religion in this King-
dome, and, according to that, settled a new *Interest in the State*;
which it was most behoofeful and requisite for her Successors to
follow, and much conducing, besides the glory of Almighty God,
to their own Honour, Power, and Greatnesse.

This I must add, that to inform the world of the right nature
of these Distinctions, it will require that the
causes, and growth of these Distinctions; which I shall endeavour
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PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND

CHAP. I.

Wherein is set forth the short and happy Reigne of Elizabeth, King James, and the beginning of King Charles his Reigne; his two first Parliaments. Of the Wars with Spaine and France. The death of the Duke of Buckingham. And the third Parliament of King Charles.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, of glorious Memory, reigned with the great Honour and Honour of Great Britain, which her pious and just Government brought to the English Nation, had resolved that, to the great Honour (which we may say) of the cause of all the good Subjects, should be given by the

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

Wherein is a short mention of Queene ELIZABETH, King JAMES, and the beginning of King CHARLES his Reigne; his two first Parliaments. Of the Warre with Spaine and France The death of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM. And the third Parliament of King CHARLES.

QUEENE ELIZABETH, of glorious Memory, together with that great Stock of Wealth and Honour, which her prudent and just Government had brought to the English Nation, had enriched them besides with a greater Treasure (which we may justly account the cause of all the rest) Religion reformed from Popish Superstition.

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That

That Reformation engaged the Queene in a new Interest of State, to side with the Protestants against those Potent Monarchs of the other Religion, which seemed at the beginning as much danger and disadvantage to her, as it proved in conclusion security and Honour; so impossible it is for any disadvantage to prevaile over them that helpe the Lord against the Mighty.

That Storme from *France*, which so much threatened the weake beginnings of her Reigne, was suddenly blowne-over by the death of HENRY the second, and, some few Moneths after, of his Sonne FRANCIS, who had married the Queene of *Scotland*: the danger which remained greatest was from *Spaine*, where PHILIP the Second then reigned, a Prince not greater in Dominion, Treasure, and Armies, than deeply engaged against the Protestant Religion, by the instigation and assistance of the Jesuites, an Order, which in the Age before had beene highly countenanced by Pope PAUL the third, in opposition to the Gospell-Doctrine, that then began to spread apace in *Germany* and other parts.

The whole Order of *Jesuites* (as endeavouring to set-up one Temporall Kingdome of *Christendome*, suitable to the *Papall Hierarchy*) applyed their service altogether to the *Monarchy of Spaine*, as being then far the greatest in *Europe* (and fittest for their purpose) by the late uniting of so many Kingdomes and Dutchies under the person of CHARLES the Emperour, who by a fortunate birthright inherited, together with *Castile*, and *Arragon*, and all the great acquisitions of his Grandfather FERDINAND in *Italy* and the *West-Indies*, the rich and useful patrimony of his Father PHILIP, *Burgundy*, and the *Netherlands*. All these he had left entirely to his Sonne PHILIP, who to so large a Territory, had made that strong addition of the Kingdome of *Portugall*, and might seeme an Enemy too mighty for *England* and all the *Protestants of Europe* to oppose.

But Queene ELIZABETH had woven the interest of her own State so inseparably into the cause of Religion itselfe, that it was hard to overthrow one without the ruine of the other. And God, who had given her so much grace and courage as to rely wholly upon him, did, with that Almighty hand, not onely hold her up from sinking, but lift her above the heads of all her enemies.

By what degrees and means she atchieved the great Actions of her reigne, and brought so much prosperity to her Nation, it is not the scope of this discourse to relate at large (for her History is not the worke in hand) but only in brief to declare that, before her death, she was the happy instrument of God to promote the Protestant Religion in all parts. She curbed the Spanish greatnesse by supporting *France* from ruine, to give some balance to the other; as she preserved *Scotland* from being swallowed-up by the French before. She protected the *Hollanders* against him, vanquished his Armies both by Land and Sea, with many other such things as might seeme too much to be the atchievements of one Reigne. And last of all, she reduced *Ireland* wholly to obedience, notwithstanding all the subtil machinations of *Spain*, and open assistance given in Armes to her Irish Rebels. All which she accomplished by the justice and prudence of her government, by making the right use of her Subjects hearts, hands, and Purses, in a
Parliamentary

Parliamentary way; as also securing her own Kingdome by strengthening the hands of Protestants abroad; insomuch as she stood at last above the reach of any enemy by open warre; and protected by God, though often attempted by domestick Treasons and Assassinations, till in the end she died in a good old age, leaving to her Successor, King JAMES, the Kingdome of *England* in an happier condition than ever it was; the Kingdome of *Ireland* wholly subdued and reduced, to reap for himselfe the harvest of all her labour and expence; and nothing to do for it, but to propagate the true Faith in that Kingdome, which she, prevented by death, could not performe; and was, in probability, an easie taske for King JAMES at that time; much conducing, besides the honour of God, to his owne Temporall strength and greatnesse, if he had onely gone fairly on in that way which Queene ELIZABETH had made plaine for him.

The Prosperity of *England* seemed then at the height, or *Ἀκμή*; and it pleases God that States many times shall decline from their happinesse without any apparent signes to us, or reasons that we can give, as a Heathen complains:

*O! faciles dare summa Deos, eadēque tueri
Difficiles?* Lucan.

How easie are the Gods to raise States high,
But not to keepe them so?

These things have made some high-reaching Writers impute the raising and declination of Kingdomes and Common-wealths to certaine aspects of heavenly Constellations, to Conjunctions and oppositions of Planets, and various Eclipses of Celestiall Luminaries; others, to an hidden strength, and secret efficacy of Numbers themselves; and most men to the perpetuall Rotation of fortune: but the judgements of God in those things are past our finding-out; and they are too wise, who are not content sometimes to wonder.

For King JAMES, the Successour to Queene ELIZABETH, was a wise and learned Prince, of disposition mercifull and gracious, excellently grounded in that Religion which he professed, as the world may finde by his extant writings; a Prince of whom *England* conceived wonderfull hope, and received with great joy and Triumph. But he did not beginne where his Predecessor left, proceeding rather in a contrary way: what the reasons of it were, I will not at all presume to deliver my opinion, though some have beene bold to write and publish of late yeeres, that it was feare for his own Person, that made him to temporize with *Rome*, considering the boldnesse of Jesuiticall Assassines: others, more candidly, conceived it might be his great desire of peace and union with other Princes, though he might erre in the meanes of attaining that end; for he was by nature a great seeker of Peace, and abhorrer of bloodshed, according to that Motto which he ever used, *Beati Pacifici*. I cannot search into mens thoughts, but onely relate the Actions which appeared.

King JAMES, at the beginning of his Reigne, made a Peace with *Spaine*, which

was brought very low by Queen^e ELIZABETH, and had beene neerer to ruine in all probability, had she lived a few yeares longer; the Estates of the united Provinces of the *Netherlands*, those usefull Confederates to *England*, began to be despised by the English Court, under a vaine shadow, in stead of a reason, "that they were an ill example for a Monarch to cherish." Then began secret Treaties to passe betwixt *Rome* and the Court of *England*; care to be taken about reconciliation of Religions; the rigour of Penall Lawes against the Papists (notwithstanding that odious plot of the Gunpowder-Treason) was abated; the pompe of Prelacy, and multitude of Ceremonies, encreased daily in the Church of *England*, and according to that were all Civil Affaires managed both at home and abroad.

Neither was it easie for the King to turne himselfe out of that way, when he was once entred into it; so that at last the Papists began by degrees to be admitted neerer to him in service and conversation. Exceeding desirous he then was to match the Prince, his Sonne, to the Infanta of *Spaine*; about which many and long Treaties passed, wherein not onely the Spaniard, but the Pope, made many present advantages of the King's earnest desires, and many waies deluded him, as it appeared plainely by his owne Letters to his Ambassadors there, since found and published.

Thus was the King by degrees brought, not onely to forsake, but to oppose, his owne interest both in civill and religious affaires, which was most unhappily seene in that cause (as the Duke of ROHAN observed,) wherein, besides the interest of all Protestants, and the honour of his Nation, the estate and livelihood of his owne children were at the height concerned, the Palatinate-businesse.

From hence flowed a farther mischief; for the King (being loath, perchance, that the whole people should take notice of those waies in which he trod,) grew extremely disaffected to Parliaments, calling them for nothing but to supply his expences, dissolving them when they began to meddle with State-Affaires, and divers times imprisoning the Members for Speeches made in Parliament, against the fundamental priviledges of that high Court.

Parliaments being thus despised and abused, projects against the Lawes were found-out to supply the King's expences, which were not small; and the King (whether to avoid the envy of those things, or the trouble of them) did in a manner put-off all businesse of Government from himselfe into the hands of a young Favourite, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, whom he had raised, from a Knight's fourth Sonne, to that great heighth, and entrusted with the chiefe Offices of the Kingdome; besides the great power, which he had by that extraordinary favour of conferring all places and preferments both in Church and State.

This Duke, not long before the death of King JAMES, was growne into extraordinary favour and intirenesse with the Prince, whom he afterward swayed no lesse than he had before his father; like an unhappy vapour exhaled from the earth to so great an height, as to cloud not only the rising, but the setting Sunne.

King CHARLES, with great hopes and expectation of the people, and no lesse high expressions of love and duty from all in general, began his Reigne on the

Of the Duke of
Buckingham.

Of King Charles.

27 of *March*, 1624. And indeed that love which the people bare to his Person, had been before testified, whilst he was yet Prince, at his returne from Spaine, though the journey itselfe had not been pleasing to the Kingdome; for, when the people saw him arrived in safety, there needed no publike Edict for thanksgiving, or joy; every society and private family (as if the hearts of all had beene in one) did voluntarily assemble themselves together, praising God, with singing of Psalmes, with joyfull feasting, and charity to the poore; insomuch that, I suppose, the like consent, without any interposing authority, hath not been often knowne.

The same affections followed him to his Throne; the same hopes and faire presages of his future Government, whilst they considered the temperance of his youth, how cleare he had lived from personall vice, being growne to the age of 23. how untainted of those licentious extravagances, which unto that age and fortune are not only incident, but almost thought excusable.

But some men suspended their hopes, as doubting what to finde of a Prince so much and so long reserved; for he had never declared himselfe of any Faction, or scarce interposed in any State affaires, though some things had been managed in his father's Reigne, with much detriment to his owne present and future fortunes. Yet that by the people in generall was well censured, as an effect of his piety and obedience to the King his father, and happy presages were gathered from it, "That so good an Obeyer would prove a just Ruler."

They wondered also to see him suddenly linked in such an intire friendship with the Duke of BUCKINGHAM; for extraordinary Favourites do usually eclipse and much depresse the Heire apparent of a Crowne, or else they are conceived so to do; and, upon that reason, hated and ruined by the succeeding Prince; in which kinde all ancient and moderne Stories are full of examples.

In the beginning of King CHARLES his Reigne, a Parliament was called, and adjourned to *Oxford*, (the plague raging extremely at *London*,) where the Duke of BUCKINGHAM was highly questioned, but by the King (not without the grieve and sad presage of many people, that private affections would too much prevaile in him against the publike) he was protected against the Parliament, which for that onely purpose was dissolved, after two Subsidies had been given and before the Kingdome received reliefe in any one grievance; as is expressed in the first and general Remonstrance* of this present Parliament, where many other unhappy passages of those times are briefly touched; as that the King immediately after the dissolution of that Parliament, contrived a Warre against *Spaine*, in which the designe was unhappily laid, and contrary to the advice which at that time had been given by wise men, who perswaded him to invade the *West-Indies*; a way, no doubt, farre more easie and hopeful for *England* to prevaile against *Spaine* than any other: instead of that, the King, with great expence of Treasure, raised an Army and

His first Parliament.

It is dissolved.

A war with Spain.

* This Remonstrance was passed by the House of Commons on Wednesday the 15th of December, 1641. It is intituled, *A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, and is expressed in clear and temperate language, and has a great appearance of being true. See *Husbands's Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations, &c. of this Parliament*, published in the year 1642.

Fleet to assault *Cales*, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM bearing the Title both of Admirall and Generall, though he went not himselfe in person. But the matter was so ordered that the expedition proved altogether successelesse, and as dishonourable as expensive.

Of the siege of Rochelle.

They complained likewise of another designe (which indeed was much lamented by the people of *England* in generall) about that time put in practice,—a thing destructive to the highest interest of the Nation, the maintenance of the Protestant religion: a Fleet of English Ships were set-forth, and delivered-over to the French, by whose strength all the Sea-forces of Rochell were scattered and destroyed,—a losse to them irrecoverable, and the first step to their ruine.

Neither was this loane of Ships from *England* (for such was the people's complaint and suspicion against those who at that time stood at the Helme) supposed to proceed so much from friendship to the State of *France*, as from designe against Religion; for immediately upon it, the King, by what advice the people understood not, made a breach with *France*, by taking their Ships, to a great value, without making any recompence to the English, whose Goods were thereupon imbarr'd, and confiscate in that Kingdome.

In revenge of this, a brave Army was raised in *England*, and commanded by the Duke of BUCKINGHAM in person, who landing at the Isle of *Rhea*, was at the first encounter victorious against the French; but, after few Moneths stay there, the matter was so unhappily carried, (the Generall being unexperienced in Warlike affaires,) that the French prevailed, and gave a great defeat, where many gallant Gentlemen lost their lives, and the Nation much of their ancient Honour.

The town of Rochelle compelled by famine to surrender to the army of the French king.

From thence proceeded another step to the ruine of *Rochell*; the sick and wounded English were sent into that City, and relieved by the besieged Rochellers, out of that little provision which they then had, upon faithful promise of supplies from *England* in the same kinde. The provisions of *Rochell* were little enough for their owne reliefe at that time, if we consider what ability the French King had to continue that siege; when to the proper wealth and greatnesse of his Crowne was added that reputation and strength which his late successe against all the other Protestant Garrisons in *France* had brought.

The besieged Rochellers, not doubting at all of the due and necessary supply of Victuall from *England*, sent their Ships thither for that purpose; but those Ships, whose returne with bread was so earnestly expected, were stayed in *England* by an *Imbargo*; and so long stayed, till that unhappy Towne was enforced to yield by famine, the sharpest of all Enemies.

The Death of the Duke of Buckingham.

But in the meane time, whilst these Ships with Victuall were detained, a great Army was raised in *England* for reliefe of *Rochell*; but too great was the delay of those preparations, till time was past, and that Army in the end disbanded by the sad death of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM their Generall, who was stabbed at *Portsmouth* by a private Gentleman, JOHN FELTON.

This FELTON was a Souldier of a low stature, and no promising aspect; of disposition serious and melancholy, but religious in the whole course of his life and conversation;

conversation; which last I do not mention out of purpose to countenance his unlawful act, as supposing him to have had (as some did then talke) any inspiration or calling of God to it: His confessions to his friends, both publike and private, were, That he had often secret motions to that purpose, which he had resisted and prayed against, and had almost overcome, untill he was at last confirmed in it, by reading the late dissolved Parliament's Remonstrance against the Duke: That then his conscience told him it was just and laudable, to be the executioner of that man, whom the highest Court of Judicature, the Representative body of the Kingdome, had condemned as a Traytor. But, let Posterity censure it as they please; certain it is, that FELTON did much repent him of the unlawfulness of the fact, out of no feare of death, or punishment here; for he wished his hand to be cut-off before the execution, which his Judges could not doome by the Lawes of *England*.

The King had not long before broken-off another Parliament, called in the second yeare of his Reigne, in which the Petition of Right was granted, to the great rejoycing of the people. But it proved immediately to be no reliefe at all to them: for, the Parliament presently dissolved, the King acted-over the same things, which formerly he had done; and that grant, instead of fortifying the Kingdome's Liberty, made it appear to be more defencelesse than before, [seeing] that Lawes themselves were no barre against the King's will. The Parliament, in hope of gracious Acts, had declared an intent to give his Majesty five Subsidies; the full proportion of which five Subsidies was, after the dissolution of that Parliament, exacted by Commission of Loane from the people, and those imprisoned which refused the payment of that Loane: Great sums of money were required and raised by privy Seales: A Commission for squeezing the subject by way of Ex-cize: Souldiers were billited upon them: And a designe laid to inslave the Nation by a force of German Horse: with many other things of that nature.

A second Parliament, in which the Petition of Right is granted.

The King dissolves it.

Those affairs of State which concerned Confederates abroad, had been managed with as much disadvantage, and infelicity to them, as dishonour to the English Nation, and prejudice to the Cause of Religion itselfe.

Peace was made with *Spain* without consent of Parliament; by which all hope was utterly lost, of re-establishing the King's neerest kindred in their just Dominion; and the Protestant Religion much weakened in *Germany*. What Counsells had then influence upon the Court of *England*, might be the amazement of a wise man to consider; and the plaine truth must needs seeme a paradox to posterity; as that the Protestant Religion, both at home and abroad, should suffer much by the Government of two Kings; of whom the former in his own person wrote more learnedly in defence of it; and the latter in his owne person lived more conformably to the Rules of it; than any of their Contemporary Princes in *Europe*. But the Civil Affaires of State were too ill managed, to protect, or at least to propagate, true Religion; or else the neglect of Religion was the cause that Civill Affaires were blessed with no more honour and prosperity. The right waies of Queen ELIZABETH, who advanced both, had been long ago forsaken, and

Peace with Spain.

and the deviation grew daily farther, and more fatall to the Kingdom. Which appeared in a direct contrariety to all particulars of her Reigne. Titles of Honour were made more honourable by her, in being conferred sparingly, and therefore probably upon great desert; which afterwards were become of lesse esteem, by being not onely too frequently conferred, but put to open sale, and made too often the purchase of Mechannicks, or the reward of vitious persons.

The people rejoiced at the death of the Duke of Buckingham.

At the Death of that Duke, the people were possessed of an unusuall joy, which they openly testified by such expressions as indeed were not thought fit nor decent by wise men, upon so tragicall and sad an accident, which in a christian consideration might move compassion, whatsoever the offences of the man were.

To such people that distick of *Seneca* might give answer:

Res est sacra miser; noli mea tangere fata:

Sacrilegæ Bustis abstinuere manus.

Sacred is woe; touch not my death with scorne:

Even sacrilegious hands have Tombs forborne.

And it may be that God was offended at the excesse of their joy, in that he quickly let them see, the benefit was not so great to them as they expected by it; but his judgements are too high for men to search. True it is, that the people in generall loving the King's Person, and very unwilling to harbour the least opinion of ill in him, looked-upon the Duke as the onely hinderance of the Kingdome's happinesse; supposing, that, though other Statesmen might afterwards arise, of as bad or worse intentions, than the Duke; yet none would have so great a power for execution of them; nor any other Genius be ever found, to have so great a mastery over the King's Genius. But it is certaine, that men did much therefore rejoyce at the death of this Duke, because they did before much feare what mischiefe might befall a Kingdome, where that man, who knew himselfe extremely hated by the people, had all the keyes of the Kingdome in his hand, as being Lord-Admirall and Warden of the Cinque-Ports; having the command of all the Souldiers, and the onely power to reward and raise them.

A third Parliament is dissolved, and it's most eminent members are imprisoned and persecuted.

These joyes and hopes of men lasted not long: for in the same year (being the fourth of King CHARLES) and after the death of the Duke of Buckingham, another Parliament was dissolved; and then the Priviledges of that high Court were more broken than ever before. Six Members of the House of Commons, who had been forward in vindicating the Priviledges of Parliament, were committed close Prisoners for many moneths together, without the liberty of using books, pen, inke, and paper, while they were detained in this condition; and not admitted to baile according to Law: They were also vexed with informations in inferiour Courts; where they were sentenced and fined for matters done in Parliament; and the payment of such Fines extorted from them. Some were enforced to put-in security of good behaviour, before they could be released: The rest who

who refused to be bound, were detained divers yeares after in custody, of whom Sir John Elliot dies one Sir JOHN ELLIOT, a Gentleman of able parts, that had been forwardest in expression of himselfe for the freedome of his Country, and in taxing the unjust actions of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, while that Duke lived (though the truth be, that those Speeches of his were no other than what carried the publicke consent in them) dyed by the harsheness of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation, though, for health's sake, he petitioned for it often, and his Physician gave in testimony to the same purpose. The freedome that Sir JOHN ELLIOT used in Parliament, was by the people in general applauded, though much taxed by the Courtiers, and censur'd by some of a more politike reserve (considering the times) in that kind that TACITUS censures THRASEAS PÆTUS, as thinking such freedom a needlesse, and therefore a foolish, thing, where no cure could be hoped by it. *Sibi periculum, nec aliis libertatem.*

After the breaking-off this Parliament (as the Historian speaketh of Roman liberty, after the battel of PHILIPPI, *nunquam post hoc prælium, &c.*) the people of *England* for many years never looked-back to their ancient liberty. A Declaration was published by the King, wherein aspersions were laid upon some Members; but indeed the Court of Parliament itselfe was declared-against. All which the dejected people were forced to read with patience, and allow, against the dictate of their own reason.

The people of *England* from that time were deprived of the hope of Parliaments; and all things so managed by publike Officers, as if never such a day of account were to come.

I shall, for method's sake, first of all, make a short enumeration of some of the chiefe grievances of the Subjects, which shall be truly and plainly related; as likewise some vices of the Nation in general; (that the Reader may the better judge of the causes of succeeding troubles,) during the space of seven or eight yeares after the dissolution of that Parliament; and then shall give some account concerning the severall dispositions of the people of ENGLAND, and their different censures of the King's government during those years; touching, by the way, somewhat of the manners and customs of the Court of ENGLAND; and then briefly of the condition of Ecclesiastical affaires, and the censures of men concerning that.

Sir John Elliot dies of his imprisonment.

The People lose the hope of being governed with the concurrence of Parliament.

CHAP. II.

A briefe Relation of some grievances of the Kingdome. The various opinions of men concerning the present Government. The condition of the Court and Clergy of England. Some observations of a stranger, concerning the Religion of the English people.

IT cannot but be thought, by all wise and honest men, that the sinnes of *England* were at a great height, that the injustice of Governours, and vices of private men were very great; which have since called-down from Almighty God so sharpe a judgement; and drawn-on, by degrees, so calamitous and consuming a Warre. Those particular crimes an English Historian can take no pleasure to relate, but might rather desire to be silent in, and say with STATIUS:

—*Nos certè taceamus, & obruta multâ
Nocte tegi nostræ patiamur crimina gentis.*

Let us be silent, and from after times
Conceale our own unhappy Nation's crimes.

But to be silent in that, were great injustice and impiety toward God;—to relate his judgements upon a Kingdome; and forget the sinnes of that Kingdom, which were the cause of them. The Heathen Historians do well instruct us in that point of piety; who never almost describe any Civil Warre, or publike affliction, without relating at the beginning, how vitious and corrupted their State was at that time grown; how faulty both the Rulers and People were, and how fit to be punished, either by themselves or others. Nor doe any of the Roman Poets undertake to write of that great and miserable Civil Warre, which destroyed the present State, and enslaved posterity; without first making a large enumeration of such causes; how wicked the manners of *Rome* were growne, how the chiefe Rulers were given to avarice and oppression, and the whole State drowned in luxury, lusts and riot,

as

as you may see upon that subject in two the most elegant of them. And shall we Christians, who adore the true God, and live under the Gospel-light, not be sensible, under so heavy a judgement, of our owne offences?

To begin with the faults of the higher powers, and their illegal oppression of the people, during these eight or nine yeers, in which parliaments were denied to *England*, which I briefly touch, referring the Reader to a more full narration in the Remonstrance; multitudes of Monopolies were granted by the King, and laid *Monopolies* upon all things of most common and necessary use, such as Sope, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-cole, and many other of that kinde.

Regia privatis crescunt æraria damnis. Claud.

By losse of private men th' Exchequer growes.

Large sums of Money were exacted thorow the whole Kingdome for default of *Exactions of Money for default of Knight-hood.* Knighthood, under the shadow of an absolute Law. Tonnage and Poundage were received without the ordinary course of Law; and, though they were taken, *Tonnage and Poundage.* under pretence of guarding the Seas, yet that great Tax of Ship-money was set on foot under the same colour; by both which there was charged upon the *Ship-Money.* people some years neere 700,000. li. though the Seas at that time were not well guarded.

These things were accompanied with an enlargement of Forrests, contrary to *Many other illegal oppressions.* *Magna Charta*, the forcing of Coat and Conduct-Money, taking-away the Armes of Trayned Bands in divers Counties, disarming the people by engrossing of Gunpowder, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and setting so high a rate upon it, that the poorer sort were not able to buy it; nor could any have it without license; whereby several parts of the Kingdome were left destitute of their necessary defence.

No Courts of Judicature could give redresse to the people for these illegal sufferings, whilst Judges were displaced by the King, for not complying with his will, and so awed, that they durst not do their duties: For to hold a rod over them, the clause, *Quandiu se bene gesserint*, was left out of their Patents, and a new clause, *Durante bene-placito*, inserted.

New Illegal Oathes were enforced upon the Subjects, and new Judicatories erected without Law; and when Commissions were granted for examining the excesse of Fees, and great exactions discovered, the Delinquents were compounded-with, not onely for the time past, but immunity to offend for the time to come; which, instead of redressing, did confirme and encrease the grievance of the Subjects.

By this time, all thoughts of ever having a parliament againe, were quite banished; so many oppressions had been set on foot, so many illegal actions done, that the onely way to justifie the mischiefes already done, was to do that one

greater, "To take away the meanes which was ordained to redresse them, the law-ful Government of *England* by Parliaments."

Opinions of serious
and just men con-
cerning the Govern-
ment.

Opinions of the
Lords and the richer
Part of the Gentry.

Indisposition of the
Courtiers towards
Parliaments.

Whilest the Kingdome was in this condition, the serious and just men of *Eng-land*, who were no way interested in the emolument of these oppressions, could not but entertaine sad thoughts and presages, of what mischiefe must needs follow so great an injustice; that things carried so farre on in a wrong way, must needs either inslave themselves and posterity for ever, or require a vindication so sharpe and smarting, as that the Nation would groane under it; and, though the times were jolly for the present, yet, having observed the judgements of God upon other secure Nations, they could not chuse but feare the sequel. Another sort of men, and especially Lords and Gentlemen, by whom the pressures of the Government were not much felt, who enjoyed their owne plentiful fortunes, with little or insensible detriment, looking no farther then their present safety and prosperity; and the yet undisturbed peace of the Nation, whilest other Kingdomes were embroyled in cala-mities, and *Germany* sadly wasted by a sharpe Warre, did nothing but applaud the happinesse of *England*, and called those ungrateful and factious spirits, who com-plained of the breach of Lawes and Liberties; That the Kingdome abounded with wealth, plenty, and all kinde of elegancies, more than ever; That it was for the honour of a people, that the Monarch should live splendidly, and not be curbed at all in his Prerogative, which would bring him into the greater esteeme with other Princes, and more enable him to prevaile in Treaties; That what they suffered by Monopolies, was insensible, and not grievous, if compared with other States; That the Duke of *Tuskany* sate heavier upon his people in that very kinde; That the French King had made himselfe an absolute Lord, and quite depressed the power of Parliaments, which had beene there as great as in any Kingdome, and yet that *France* flourished, and the Gentry lived well; That the Austrian Princes, especially in *Spaine*, layed heavy burdens upon their Subjects.

Thus did many of the English Gentry, by way of comparison, in ordinary dis-course, pleade for their owne servitude.

The Courtiers would begin to dispute against Parliaments in their ordinary dis-course, That they were cruel to those whom the King favoured, and too injurious to his Prerogative; That the late Parliament stood upon too high termes with the King; and that they hoped the King should never need any more Parliaments. Some of the greatest Statesmen and Privy-Counsellors, would ordinarily laugh at the ancient Language of *England*, when the word *Liberty of the Subject* was named. But these Gentlemen, who seemed so forward in taking-up their owne yoake, were but a small part of the Nation, (though a number considerable enough to make a Reformation hard) compared with those Gentlemen who were sensible of their birth-rights, and the true interest of the Kingdome; on which side the common people in the generality, and the Country Freeholders, stood, who would rationally argue of their owne Rights, and those oppressions that were layed upon them.

But the sins of the English Nation were too great, to let them hope for an easie

easy, or speedy, redresse of such grievances; and the manners of the people so much corrupted, as by degrees they became of that temper, which the Historian speakes of his Romans, *ut nec mala, nec remedia, ferre possent*, they could neither suffer those pressures patiently, nor quietly endure the cure of them. Prophanesse too much abounded every where; and, (which is most strange,) where there was no Religion, yet there was Superstition: Luxury in diet, and excesse both in meat and drinke, was crept into the Kingdome in an high degree, not only in the quantity, but in the wanton curiosity. And in abuse of those good creatures which God had bestowed upon this plentiful Land, they mixed the vices of divers Nations, catching at every thing that was new and forraigne.

Great luxury and corruption of manners among the people.

— *Non vulgo nota placebant
Gaudia, non usu plebejo trita voluptas.*

Petronius.

— Old, knowne, delight

They scorne, and vulgar, bare-worne, pleasure sleight.

As much pride and excesse was in Apparel, almost among all degrees of people, in new-fangled and various-fashioned attire; they not only imitated, but excelled their forraigne patternes; and in fantastical gestures and behaviour, the petulancy of most Nations in *Europe*.

Excess in Apparel.

Et laxi crines, & tot nova nomina vestis.

Petr.

Loose haire, and many new-found names of clothes.

The serious men groaned for a Parliament; but the great Statesmen plyed it the harder, to compleat that worke they had begun, of setting-up Prerogative above all Lawes.

The Lord WENTWORTH (afterward created Earle of STRAFFORD for his service in that kinde) was then labouring to oppresse *Ireland*, of which he was Deputy; and to begin that worke in a conquered Kingdome, which was intended to be afterward wrought by degrees in *England*: And indeed he had gone very farre and was very prosperous in those waies of Tyranny, though very much to the endamaging and setting-backe of that newly-established Kingdome.

Of the Lord Wentworth.

He was a man of great parts, of a deepe reach, subtle wit, of spirit and industry to carry-on his businesse; and such a conscience as was fit for that worke he was designed-to. He understood the right way, and the Liberty of his Country, as well as any man; for which, in former Parliaments, he stood-up stiffely, and seemed an excellent Patriot. For those abilities he was soone taken-off by the King, and raised in honour, to be employed in a contrary way, for enslaving of his Country, which his ambition easily drew him to undertake. To this man, in my opinion, that character which LUCAN bestowes upon the Roman *Curio* in some sort may suit.

Haud

*Haud alium tantâ civem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus Leges deberent recta sequenti:
Perdita tunc urbi nocuerunt sæcula, postquam
Ambitus, & Luxus, & opum metuenda facultas,
Transverso mentem dubiam Torrente tulerunt,
Momentûmque fuit mutatus Curio rerum.*

A man of abler parts *Rome* never bore,
Nor one to whom (whilest right) the Lawes ow'd more.
Our State itselfe then suffer'd, when the tide
Of Avarice, Ambition, factious pride,
To turne his wavering minde quite crosse began:
Of such high moment was one changed man.

Of the Court of
England.

The court of *England*, during this long vacancy of Parliaments, enjoyed itselfe in as much pleasure and splendour, as ever any Court did. The Revels, Triumphs, and Princely Pastimes, were for those many yeares kept-up at so great a height, that any stranger which travelled into *England*, would verily believe, a Kingdom that looked so cheerfully in the face, could not be sick in any part.

The Queene was fruitful, and now growne of such an age, as might seeme to give her priviledge of a farther society with the King than bed and board; and make her a partner of his affaires and businesse; which his extreme affection did more encourage her to challenge: That conjugal love, as an extraordinary vertue of a King, in midst of so many temptations, the people did admire and honour.

But the Queenes power did by degrees give priviledge to Papists (and, among them, to the most witty and Jesuited,) to converse, under the name of civility and Courtship, not only with inferiour Courtiers, but with the King himselfe, and to sowe their seed in what ground they thought best; and, by degrees, as in complement to the Queene, Nuntios from the Pope were received in the Court of *England*, PANZIANE, CON, and ROSETTI; the King himselfe maintaining in discourse, That he saw no reason why he might not receive an Embassadour from the Pope, being a Temporal Prince. But those Nuntios were not entertained with publike Ceremony; so that the people, in general, tooke no great notice of them; and the Courtiers were confident of the King's Religion, by his due frequenting Prayers and Sermons.

Of the Clergy of
England.

The Clergy, whose dependance was meerely upon the King, were wholly taken-up in admiration of his happy Government, which they never concealed from himselfe, as often as the Pulpit gave them accesse to his eare; and not onely there, but at all meetings, they discoursed with joy upon that Theam; affirming confidently, that no Prince in *Europe* was so great a friend to the Church, as King CHARLES; That Religion flourished no where but in *England*; and no reformed Church retained the face and dignity of a Church but that: Many of them used to deliver their opinion, That God had therefore so severely punished the Palatinate, because their Sacriledge had beene so great in taking-away the endowments of Bishopricks.

Queen

Queen ELIZABETH herselfe, who had reformed Religion, was but coldly praised; and all her vertues were forgotten, when they remembered how she cut-short the Bishoprick of *Ely*.

HENRY the Eighth was also much condemned by them, for seizing upon the Abbies, and taking so much out of the several Bishopricks, as he did in the 37th yeer of his Reigne. To maintaine, therefore, that splendour of a Church, which so much pleased them, was become their highest endeavour; especially after they had gotten, in the yeare 1633. an Archbishop after their owne heart, Doctor LAUD; who had before, for divers yeares, ruled the Clergy, in the secession of Archbishop ABBOT, a man of better temper and discretion; which discretion, or vertue, to conceale, would be an injury to that Archbishop. He was a man who wholly followed the true interest of *England*, and that of the Reformed Churches in *Europe*; so farre as that in his time the Clergy was not much envied here in *England*, nor the Government of Episcopacy much dis-favoured by Protestants beyond the seas. Not onely the pompe of Ceremonies was daily increased, and Innovations of great scandal brought into the Church, but in point of Doctrine, many faire approaches were made towards *Rome*; as he that pleaseth to search may finde in the Books of Bishop LAUD, MONTAGUE, HELYN, POCKLINGTON, and the rest; or, in brieffe, collected by a Scottish Minister, Master BAILY. And as their friendship to *Rome* encreased, so did their scorne to the Reformed Churches beyond the seas; whom, instead of lending that reliefe and succour to them, which God had enabled this rich Island to do, they failed in their greatest extremities, and, instead of harbours, became rocks to split them.

Archbishop LAUD, who was now growne into great favour with the King, made use of it especially to advance the pompe and temporal honour of the Clergy, procuring the Lord Treasurer's place for Doctor JUCKSON, Bishop of *London*, and, endeavouring, as the general report went, to fix the greatest temporal preferments upon others of that coat; insomuch as the people merrily, when they saw that Treasurer, with the other Bishops, riding to *Westminster*, called it *the Church Triumphant*: Doctors and Parsons of Parishes were made every where Justices of Peace, to the great grievance of the Country in civil affaires, and depriving them of their spiritual edification.

The Archbishop, by the same meanes which he used to preserve his Clergy from contempt, exposed them to envy; and, as the wisest could then prophecy, to a more than probability of losing all: As we reade of some men, who, being fore-doomed by an Oracle to a bad fortune, have runne into it by the same meanes they used to prevent it. The like unhappy course did the Clergy then take to depresse Puritanism, which was, "to set-up irreligion itselfe against it," the worst weapon which they could have chosen to beat it downe: which appeared especially in point of keeping the Lord's day; when not only books were written to shake the morality of it, as that of *Sunday no Sabbath*, but sports and pastimes of jollity and lightnesse were permitted to the Country-people upon that day, by publike Authority, and the Warrant commanded to be read in Churches: which, instead of producing the intended

Of Archbishop Abbot.

Of Archbishop Laud.

The Court encourages a neglect of the Sabbath-day.

intended effect, may credibly be thought to have been one motive to a stricter observance of that day, in that part of the Kingdome, which before had been well-devoted; And many men, who had before been loose and careless, began upon that occasion to enter into a more serious consideration of it, and were ashamed to be invited, by the authority of Church-men, to that which themselves, at the best, could but have pardoned in themselves, as a thing of infirmity,

The example of the Court, where Playes were usually presented on Sundaies, did not so much draw the Country to imitation, as reflect with disadvantage upon the Court itself, and sowre those other Court-pastimes and jollities, which would have relished better without that in the eyes of all the people, as being things that had ever been allowed to the delights of great Princes.

The countenancing of loosenesse and irreligion, was, no doubt, a good preparative to the introducing of another Religion: And, the power of godlinesse being beaten-downe, Popery might more easily by degrees enter; men quickly leave that, of which they never took fast hold: And, though it were questionable, whether the Bishops and Great Clergy of *England* aimed at Popery, it is too apparent that such was the designe of Romish Agents; and the English Clergy, if they did not their owne worke, did theirs. A stranger of that Religion, a Venetian Gentleman, out of his owne observations in *England*, will tell you how farre they were going in this kinde; his words are:

Observations of a Venetian Gentleman of the Roman-Catholick Religion, concerning the Religion of the people of *England*.

THE Universities, Bishops, and Divines of England, do daily imbrace Catholike opinions, though they professe it not with open mouth, for feare of the Puritans: For example, They hold that the Church of Rome is a true Church; That the Pope is superiour to all Bishops; That to him it appertaines to call generall Councils; That it is lawfull to pray for soules departed; That Altars ought to be erected; in summe, they believe all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court, of Rome.

The Opinions of Archbishop Laud concerning Popery.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was much against the Court of *Rome*, though not against that Church, in so high a kinde: For the Doctrine of the Roman Church was no Enemy to the pompe of Prelacy; but the Doctrine of the Court of *Rome* would have swallowed-up all under the Pope's Supremacy, and have made all greatnesse dependant upon him: Which, the Archbishop conceived, would derogate too much from the King in Temporals, (and therefore hardly to be accepted by the Court) as it would from himsele in Spiritualls, and make his Metropolitall power subordinate, which he desired to hold absolute and independent within the Realme of *England*, as if he had been an English Pope.

It is certaine, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (as an English Gentleman observes) would often professe against those Tridentine Papists, whom he hated only as *Papists*, properly so called. For at the Council of *Trent*, all matters concerning

cerning the Court of *Rome*, (which are of themselves but disputable,) were determined: as points of faith, to be believed upon paine of damnation: But matters of faith indeed concerning the Church of *Rome*, were left disputable, and no Anathema annexed to them. But that Venetian Gentleman, whom before we cited, declares in what state, for matter of Religion, *England* at that time stood; and how divided, namely, into Papists, Protestants, and Puritans. Papists are well knowne. *The Protestant party* (saith he) *consists of the King, the Court-Lords and Gentlemen, with all that are raised by favour to any honour: Besides almost all the Prelates, and both the Universities.* The Protestant Party.

What the Protestants are, he farther declares, viz.

They hate Puritans more than they hate Papists; That they easily combine with Papists to extirpate Puritans; and are not so farre engaged to the Reformed Religion, but that they can reduce themselves againe to the old practice of their forefathers; That they are very opinionative in excluding the Pope's Supremacy. Of the Protestants of the Church of England.

He speaks then concerning the Puritans, and saies: *That they consist of some Bishops, of almost all the Gentry and Commonalty; and therefore are far the most potent party.*

And further declares what they are. viz. *They are such as received the Discipline of the French and Netherlanders, and hold not the English Reformation to be so perfect as that which CALVIN instituted at Geneva; That they hate Papists far more than they hate Protestants, &c.* Of the Puritans of England.

Thus farre of this stranger's Observation, concerning *England*.

CHAP. III.

The condition of the Scottish State and Clergy, when the new Booke of Liturgy was sent unto them; how it was received; with some effects which followed. The King's Proclamation sent by the Earle of TRAQUARE; against which the Lords make a Protestation.

IN this condition stood the Kingdome of *England* about the yeare 1626, when the first coale was blowne, which kindled since into so great a combustion as to deface, and almost ruine, three flourishing Kingdomes. Neither was this coale blowne by the grieved party of *England*, the Commonalty, and those religious men that prayed for Reformation, but by the other side, who had oppressed them. No commotion at all was raised from the oppressed party, though it consisted of the body of the Nation, and was therefore strong enough to have vindicated themselves, would they have risen in illegal tumults.

The Land was yet quiet, and that storme which the people had feared before the death of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, was not, in so long a time, fallen upon *England*, although the causes in Government which made them feare it, had continued at the height ever since. They onely wished for a Parliament, but durst not hope it, unlesse some strange accident, not yet discovered by them, might necessitate such a cure. The Commons, therefore, quietly endured their yoke; the Court freely enjoyed its greatnesse and splendour; and the then Clergy, without control, their dignity: Untill too great a care of securing and increasing that dignity, made them endeavour those courses, which proved the ruine of it; for from the Clergy this fire began, though the State was not innocent. The tyranny of Civil Government moved the same pace that the ambition of Prelacy did: And the King's Council had gone so farre, as they could not be content, that the people were patient, unlesse they could take-away all possibility, for the future, of the people's redresse.

But

But the name of Religion was used at the beginning of the businesse, and a conformity in Church-Worship betweene the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* pretended to be introduced: But the meanes proved unhappy, and were defective both in policy and justice, as will anon more particularly appeare.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was a maine Agent in this fatal worke; a man vigilant enough, of an active, or, rather, of a restlesse, minde; more ambitious to undertake, then poliitick to carry-on; of a disposition too fierce and cruel for his Coat; which, notwithstanding, he was so farre from concealing in a subtle way, that he increased the envy of it by insolence. He had few vulgar and private vices, as being neither taxed of covetousnesse, intemperance, or incontinence; and, in a word, a man not altogether so bad, [in his personal character] as unfit for the State of *England*.

To bring-about the worke in hand, long preparation had been made in *Scotland*; and, though that Kingdome was hardly brought to endure the Rule and Pompe of Prelacy, yet now it seemed perfectly to be wrought: The Bishops there, no lesse than in *England*, had gotten all the Ecclesiastical power into their hands, and had as great a share in Civil Government. Of the State of the Clergy in Scotland.

Of fourteene Bishops, (which is all the Scottish number), eleven were Privy-Counsellors; the Archbishop of *St. Andrewes*, Primate of *Scotland*, was Lord Chancellor; and the Bishop of *Rosse*, (a great Favourite of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*,) was in election and assured hope to be Lord High Treasurer; many of them besides were gotten into state-employment, and gainful Offices.

To establish that Episcopal Power, the High-Commission Court, like that in *England*, was erected, and a Booke of Canons for that Church was, by the King's Authority, published and ratified; wherein all Subjects to the Crowne of *Scotland* are commanded, in all Articles, to submit themselves to the Episcopal Censure. Canons for the Church of Scotland published by the King's authority,

The whole structure of Ecclesiastical policy, so long used in *Scotland*, and established by so many Acts of Parliament, was at one blow throwne-downe (as many of their Writers did then complaine) their Consistories, Classes, and Presbyteries, were held in the nature of Conventicles; and all decision of Ecclesiastical controversies confined only to the Tribunal of a Bishop. *Although* (say they) *after that unhappy Synod of Perth, which was held in the yeare 1618, we never had any National Synod, or Assembly; yet there remained a kinde of face, or name, of Provincial Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions:* (though indeed but vaine names and shadowes): but after the monstrous birth of those Canons, that very shadow was quite lost.

*Oùm vera fides Libertatis obit;
Nunc & ficta perit.*

Lucan, Book 9th.

Yet for all this, the Power of Prelacy was not so firmly rooted in *Scotland* as in *England*, nor so well fortified by the affections of the one Kingdome as of the other. Besides, the Reformation of *England* had never abrogated, nor scarce shaken, the Prelatical Dignity in any Parliament.

But in *Scotland* it was once quite ruined, and had been by degrees built-up againe, not without many difficulties;—not without great reluctancy of the Peeres, Gentry, and most of the Ministers;—not without extraordinary interposition of Regal Authority, and great art used by two Kings in managing the businesse, and raising it to that height in which it then stood; as you may reade at large in some late Writers of that Kingdome.

Neither were the Peeres and Gentry of that Kingdome so impatient of this new yoake, onely out of zeale to preservation of Religion in purity, (though that, no doubt, were their greatest reason; that Church having been ever much addicted to the Reformation of *Geneva* and those other Churches, as it appeared by their great unwillingnesse to receive those few Ceremonies of the English Church, at their Synod of *Perth*;) but also as being loath to suffer any diminution of their Temporal Liberties; which could not be avoided in admittance of Episcopal Jurisdiction, and was manifested in that Kingdome, by divers examples of rigorous proceedings, which some Bishops used against Gentlemen of quality, by way of Fines and Imprisonments, and the like; which particulars are too large to be here inserted in this Narration.

The King sends a Booke of Common Prayer to be used in the Churches of Scotland. A.D. 1637.

In the yeare 1637, a Booke of Liturgy was composed, and sent out of *England*, (which they complained of, because it was not before allowed by their Church in a National Synod, as was fit for a businesse of so great import) with an expresse command from the King, that they should reverently receive it, and publickly reade it in their Churches, beginning on Easter-day, and so forward; against which time the Privy Council of *Scotland* had commanded that every Parish should buy two, at the least, of them.

That Service-Booke was the same with the Common-Prayer Booke of *England*, excepting some few alterations, of which some (as they observed) were alterations for the better, but others for the worse.

For the better, they esteemed, that so many Chapters of the *Apocrypha* were not appointed to be read, as in the English Prayer-Booke; and where the English retained the old vulgar Latine Translation, especially in the Psalmes, that Booke followed the last Translation, commonly called that of King JAMES.

Those alterations for the worse were divers, observed by the Scots, especially in the Lord's Supper, of which some were these: The expresse command for situation of the Altar (so called) to the Easterne Wall; together with many postures of the Minister, whilst he officiated, expressed in their exceptions; but especially this, that in the consecrating prayer, those words, which in the English Common-Prayer Booke, are directly against Transubstantiation, were quite left-out in that Booke, and instead of them, such other words, as in plain sense agreed with the Roman Masse-Booke.

As for example: *Heare us, O most merciful Father, and of thy Omnipotent goodnesse grant, so to blesse and sanctifie by thy Word and Spirit, these creatures of bread and wine, that they may be to us the body and blood of thy beloved Sonne.*

Many other alterations the Scots have observed and expressed in their writings, and,

and, in one word, affirmed, that, wheresoever that Booke varies from the English Liturgy, it approaches directly to the Roman Missall; and offered to prove, that all the material parts of the Masse-Booke are seminally there.

It was thought by many, that, if the Booke, without any alteration at all, had been sent into *Scotland*, though the Scots, perhaps, would not have received it, they would not have taken it in so evil part: And it might have been construed onely as a brotherly invitation to the same service which *England* used. But what the reasons were of those alterations, I finde no where expressed, but onely where the King, in his Declaration concerning that businesse, is pleased to say thus:

WE, supposing that they might have taken some offence, if we should have tendred them the English Service-Booke, totidem verbis; and that some factious spirits would have endeavoured to have misconstrued it, as a badge of dependance of that Church upon this of England, which we had put upon them to the prejudice of their Lawes and Liberties; We held it fitter that a new Booke should be composed by their owne Bishops, in substance not differing from this of England, that so the Roman Party might not upbraid us with any weighty or material differences in our Liturgyes; and yet in some few insensible alterations, differing from it, that it might truly and justly be reputed a Booke of that Churches owne composing, and established by Our Royal Authority; as King of SCOTLAND.

The King's declaration concerning the said book of Common Prayer.

These were the King's expressions, which, as it seemed, were not satisfactory to the Scots in that point.

For they were (as it before specified) not well-affected to their owne Bishops, whose power and jurisdiction over them was rather enforced than consented-to. Neither did they suppose that a conformity in Church-Worship, had it been such as their consciences could well have imbraced, had beene any badge of their dependancy upon *England*, as being a people not conquered, but united in an equal freedome under the same King.

Besides, they could not relish it well, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other English Bishops, who in many points of Ceremony and Worship, which they accounted things tolerable, did make as neere approaches to the Church of *Rome*, as possibly they could; for no other reason (as they professe in their writings) than that they laboured to bring union into the Christian Church, if it were possible; should now invite the Church of *Scotland* (whom they accounted more puritanical than themselves) to union, by a quite contrary way; as, instead of framing their Service neerer to the Scottish profession and Discipline, to urge them to a Liturgy more Popish than their own: So that it seemed, for unity they were content to meet *Rome*, rather than *Scotland*.

To

To returne to the Narration; The Service-Booke, according to the King's command, was offered to the Church of *Scotland*, and the Council there, and published by Proclamation; a day for the reading of it in all Churches appointed, which was the Easter-day following, 1637.

But then upon some considerations, and further trial of mens minds (as the King declares) the first reading of it was put-off until the 23d of *July* next ensuing, to the end that the Lords of the Session (their Session being the same with the Terme in *England*) and others, who had any Law-businesse, might see the successe of it before the rising of the Session, which alwaies endeth upon the first of *August*; and that so, upon their returne into their several Countries, they might report the receiving of this Booke at *Edenburgh*; it being ordered, That on that Sunday the Booke should be read only in the Church of *Edenburgh*, and some other Churches neere adjacent; and warning was printed, and published in those several Pulpits, the Sunday before, "that it was to be read."

The said Booke of Common-Prayer is read in the great Church at *Edenburgh*, July 23, 1637.

On the 23d day of *July*, being Sunday, the Booke was read in Saint *Gyles* Church, commonly called, the great Church at *Edenburgh*, where were present, many of the Privy Council, both Archbishops, and divers other Bishops, the Lords of the Session, the Magistrates of *Edenburgh*, and a great auditory of all sorts.

It is opposed in a violent manner by the people.

But the people, especially the meanest vulgar, (for they first appeared against it) and some women, expressed so great a detestation of the Booke, not onely in words and outcries, but actions; that the City-Magistrates were troubled much to get the Service performed; and the Bishop who read it, coming out of the Church, had probably beene slaine by the multitude, if he had not been rescued by a Nobleman.

Between the two Sermons the Council and Magistrates met about preventing future tumults; but, though the Booke were read more quietly in the afternoone, yet the tumult was farre greater after evening Prayer, from the people who had stayed in the streets; and the Bishop, in the Earle of *ROXBOROUGH* his Coach, hardly escaped from being stoned to death.

The greatest men and Magistrates of *Edenburgh*, to excuse themselves to the King (some of them also writing to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*) layed all the fault upon the Rabble; for as yet none of quality had appeared, insomuch as that the Privy Council and Magistrates of *Edenburgh*, the next morning, held some consultation about finding-out and punishing the ringleaders of that uproare.

The reading of it is then suspended till the King's further pleasure is known.

But not long after, upon the appearing of some others of higher ranke, and Petitions from divers Ministers, "That the reading of that Booke might be a while respited, till his Majesty might be further petitioned and informed;" the Council yeelded so far, as that it should not be urged by the Bishops, till his Majesties pleasure were further knowne.

Upon which, many Gentlemen and Ministers, who had resorted to *Edenburgh* with Petitions not long before, returned in part satisfied to their owne habitations; and at many places met-together, with fastings, and Prayer, That God would be pleased

pleased to direct the King's heart in that way which they conceived most conducive to the happiness of the Church and State of *Scotland*.

Upon the 18th of *October* following, harvest being now ended, a great conflux of all sorts was at *Edenburgh*, to heare what the King was pleased to determine of the businesse: where they finde an Edict against them, "That, upon paine of being guilty of Rebellion, all should, within few houres warning, depart the City; and because the Citizens of *Edenburgh* had twice tumultuously opposed the Prayer-Booke, and assaulted the Bishop of *Edenburgh*; as a punishment to that City, the Terme was to be removed to the Burgh of *Linlithgow*; and the next Terme, after the ordinary vacants, to be held at the Burgh of *Dendie*, there to remaine during his Majesties pleasure."

The King publishes an Edict against the citizens of *Edenburgh*. October 18, 1637.

The Petitioners (as they were then called) were much moved at this Edict; and on the 19th of that *October*, presented to the Privy-Council a great complaint against the Bishops, whom they conceived to be the Authors of all this businesse, and desired justice against them, as well for other crimes, as for introducing, contrary to Law, that superstitious and idolatrous Book.

To this complaint a great number of all ranks subscribed, and professed to the Council, that they could not depart out of *Edenburgh* till some way were found out to settle the present grievances.

Whilest they stayed there, their number daily increased, from all the remotest Provinces, so that the Council were enforced to give way, that till the King's pleasure were yet further knowne, they might chuse some out of their number of all ranks, to represent the rest, and follow the cause in the name of all the rest: Upon which they chose foure of the higher Nobility, foure of the lower ranke of Nobility, as representers of Provinces; as many Burgesses of Townes; and foure Pastors, as representers of the Classes; having settled this, the rest quietly departed to their owne homes.

The opposers of the Service-book chuse Commissioners to represent them.

The King, hearing of these things, sent a command to the Council of *Edenburgh*, not to take upon themselves any more the decision of this controversie, which he reserved in his owne power: And Proclamation was made in *December*, 1637, concerning the King's intentions, that they were not to infringe the Lawes or Liberties of the Kingdome.

When therefore the Commissioners petitioned the Council to give way to them, to bring their Actions against the Bishops, the Council answered, That the King had commanded them to receive no more Petitions, against either the Bishops, or Booke of Service.

Whereupon the Commissioners, discontented, prepare a Protestation against the King's Council, declaring, That what mischiefes soever might afterwards ensue, was to be all imputed to the King's Council, for denying Justice.

The Council, fearing what effects might follow, desired the Bishops to absent themselves, and gave leave to the Commissioners to appeare before them; where the Lord of *Lowden*, in name of all the rest, made an Oration, in which, charging the Bishops with other crimes, besides these stirres, he desired them to be alto-

gether These Commissioners complain of the Scotch Bishops as being the advisers of the introduction of the new Service-book.

gether removed from the Council-Table, till they had answered and cleered themselves. To the like purpose spake one of the Ministers.

The Council seemed sorry, that it lay not in their power (since the King's Command was peremptory) to give satisfaction to their desires; but intreated their patience for so small a time, as till they might againe receive notice of his Majesties pleasure.

The Earl of Traquair publishes at Stirling a Proclamation of the King in justification of the Bishops, in February, 1638.

The King, further certified by them, sent for the Earle of TRAQUAIR into *England*, who was soone dispatched againe into *Scotland*; and in *February*, 1638, caused the King's Mandate in *Sterlin* (where the Council then sate) to be published.

The Proclamation declared, that the Bishops were wrongfully accused, as Authors of sending the Prayer-Booke; That his Majesty himselfe was Author of it, and all was done by his Command; That he condemned all tumultuous proceedings of his Subjects to exhibite Petitions, or complaints, against the innocent Bishops, and Booke of Liturgy, and all subscriptions to that purpose hitherto, as conspiring against the publick peace; pronouncing pardon to those which repented, and the punishment of High Treason to such as persisted; promising to heare the just Complaints of his Subjects, so they offended not in matter or forme.

The Commissioners make a protestation against the Service-book.

After the Proclamation was made at *Sterlin*, the Earl of HUME, Lord LINDSEY, and others, in name of all the Petitioners, made a Protestation against it; which Protestation was afterward repeated at *Lithgow*, and last at *Edenburgh*.

The effect of that Protestation was (for we cannot here insert it at large) That the Service-Booke was full of Superstition and Idolatry, and ought not to be intruded upon them, without consent of a National Synod, which in such cases should judge; That it was unjust to deny them liberty to accuse the Bishops, being guilty of high crimes, of which till they were cleered, they did reject the Bishops as Judges or Governours of them. They protested also against the High-Commission Court, and justified their owne meetings, and superscriptions to Petitions, as being to defend the glory of God, the King's Honour, and Liberties of the Realme. This Protestation was read in the Market-place at *Sterlin*, and the Copy hung-up in publike.

CHAP. IV.

*The Scots enter into a Covenant. The Marquesse HAM-
MILTON is sent thither from the King. A National
Synod is granted to them, but dissolved within few
daies by the Marquesse, as Commissioner from the
King. The King declares against the Covenanters,
and raises an Army to subdue them.*

FROM *Sterlin* the Commissioners resorted to *Edenburgh*, whither many from all parts met to consult of the present businesse; and concluded there to renew solemnly among them that Covenant, which was commonly called, The lesser Confession of the Church of *Scotland*, or, The Confession of the King's family; which was made and sealed under King JAMES his hand, in the yeare 1580, and afterwards confirmed by all the Estates of the Kingdome, and Decree of the National Synod in 1581. Which Confession was againe subscribed by all sorts of persons in *Scotland*, in the year 1590, by authority of Council and National Synod; and a Covenant added to it, for defence of true Religion, and the King's Majesty; which Covenant the aforesaid Lords, Citizens, and Pastours, in the yeare 1638, did renew, and tooke another according to the present occasion.

The Covenant itselfe (expressed at large in the Records of that Kingdome) consisted of three principal parts: The first was a re-taking, word for word, of that old Covenant, 1580, confirmed by Royal Authority, and two National Synods, for defence of the purity of Religion, and the King's Person and Rights, against the Church of *Rome*. The second part contained an enumeration of all the Acts of Parliament made in *Scotland*, in defence of the reformed Religion, both in Doctrine and Discipline, against Popery.

The third was an application of that old Covenant to the present state of things, where, as in that all Popery, so in this all Innovations in those Bookes of Liturgy

unlawfully obtruded upon them, are abjured; and a preservation of the King's Person and Authority; as likewise a mutual defence of each other; in this Covenant, are sworne-unto.

The King makes objections to this Covenant.

Against this Covenant the King, much displeased, made these four principal objections: First, By what authority they entred into this Covenant? or presumed to exact any Oath from their fellow-Subjects? Secondly, if they had power to command the new-taking of this Oath, yet what power had they to interpret it to their present occasion? it being a received Maxime, That no lesse authority can interpret a Law than that which made it, or the Judges appointed by that Authority to give sentence upon it. Thirdly, What power they had to adde any thing to it, and interpose a new Covenant of mutual assistance to each other, against any other power that should oppose them, none excepted? And, fourthly, That all Leagues of Subjects among themselves, without the privity and approbation of the King, are declared to be seditious by two Parliaments in *Scotland*, one of the tenth Parliament of JAMES the Sixth, Act the twelfth; and the other the fifteenth Act of the ninth Parliament of QUEENE MARY.

What answer the Covenanters made to these objections, and what arguments the King used to enforce the contrary, are largely expressed in many writings; being such, indeed, as not onely then, but since, in the sad calamities of *England*, have been discoursed-of in whole volumes; containing all that can be said concerning the true Rights and Priviledges of Princes and People.

The Covenant is subscribed by almost all the Protestants in Scotland before the end of April, 1638.

The Covenant, notwithstanding, was generally subscribed by all there present at *Edenburgh*, in *February*, 1638, and Copies of it sent abroad to those who were absent, and were so fast subscribed by them also, that, before the end of *April*, he was scarce accounted one of the Reformed Religion, that had not subscribed to this Covenant. And the Church and State were divided into two names, of Covenanters, and Non-Covenanters; the Non-Covenanters consisting, first, of Papists, whose number was thought small in *Scotland*, scarce exceeding six hundred: Secondly, of some Statesmen in Office and favour at that time: Thirdly, of some, who, though they were of the Reformed Religion, were greatly affected to the Ceremonies of *England* and the Booke of Common-Prayer.

Many Bishops at that time came from thence to the Court of *England*, and three Lords of the Council of *Scotland*, whom the King had sent-for, to advise about the affaires of that Kingdome; where, after many debates what course to take, whether of reducing the Covenanters by Armes, or using more gentle meanes: The King at last sent the Marquisse HAMILTON, together with those three Lords, into *Scotland*.

The Marquis of Hamilton is sent into Scotland by the King, in June, 1638.

The Marquisse arrived at *Dulkeith*, and within few daies entred *Edenburgh*, in *June*, being met and conducted into the City by a great multitude of all ranks, in which number were seven hundred Pastors of Churches.

The Marquisse, by the King's Command, dealt with the Covenanters, to renounce their Covenant, or else told them, there was no hope to obtaine a National

tional Synod, which they so much desired, for settling of the Church, which, they affirmed, could not be done, without manifest perjury and profanation of God's Name.

But when nothing was agreed upon, they besought the Marquesse, at his returne into *England*, to present their humble desire to the King: But before his departure, in *July*, he published the King's Proclamation, wherein his Majesty protests to defend the Protestant Religion; and that he would no more presse upon them the Booke of Canons, or Service-Booke, but by lawful Mediums; That he would rectifie the High Commission, and was resolved to take a speedy opportunity of calling both a Parliament and a Synod.

He publishes a Proclamation of the King in July, 1638.

When the Proclamation was ended, the Covenanters read their Protestation; of which the heads were: That they never questioned his Majesties sincerity in the Protestant Religion; That these grants of his were not large enough to cure the present distempers; for he doth not utterly abolish that Service-Booke, nor the High Commission, being both obtruded against all Law upon them; That their meetings are not to be condemned in opprobrious words, being lawful, and such as they would not forsake, until the purity of Religion, and peace, might be fully settled by a free and National Synod.

The Covenanters make a Protestation in answer to it.

The Marquesse went into *England*, to returne at a prefixed day, the twelfth of *August*. In the meane time the Scots keepe a solemne Fast; and the Covenanters, not hoping from the King so quick a call of a National Synod as the present malady required, published a writing, wherein they endeavour to prove, That the Church in such a condition may provide for itselfe; *That the power of calling a Synod, in case the Prince be an enemy to the truth, or negligent in promoting the Churches good, is in the Church itselfe.* And that the State of the Church of *Scotland* at that time was necessitated to such a course; which they endeavour to prove by reciting all their particular grievances, and by answering all arguments of the contrary side, for the Right of Princes, howsoever affected to Religion; as appeares at large in their Tractate concerning the necessity of Synods.

The Marquesse returned into *Scotland* before the appointed day, and brought Articles from the King, to which the Covenanters, if they would have either Parliament or Synod, were required to consent.

The Marquis of Hamilton proposes to the Covenanters certain Articles from the King, August 12, 1638. But the Covenanters reject them.

But they utterly rejected those Articles, as too invalid for their purpose of settling things; so that the Marquesse, fearing least the Covenanters, weary of delays, would call a Synod without staying the King's consent, earnestly perswaded them to forbear it onely till his next returne from Court, whither he would presently go to perswade the King. Which request of his, with much ado, was granted by them, and the day for his returne appointed the 22 of *September*; by which time, unlesse the Marquesse returned, it was free for the Covenanters to provide for their owne affaires.

But the Marquesse, with singular diligence, prevented his day, and published the

The Marquis publishes another Proclamation of the King; in September, 1638.

the King's Proclamation, of which the chiefe heads were: First, The King did abrogate all Decrees of Council for the Booke of Canons and Common-Prayer, and abrogate the High Commisson. Secondly, That none should be pressed to the five Articles of *Perth*. Thirdly, That Bishops should be subject to the censure of a Synod. Fourthly, That no Oath should be given at Ordination of Pastors, but by Law of Parliament. Fifthly, that the lesser Confession of 1580. should be subscribed-to by all the Kingdome. Sixtly, That the King called a National Synod, to begin at *Glasco* the 21st of *November*, 1638, and a Parliament at *Edenburgh* the 15th of *May*, 1639. Lastly, for peace sake, he would forget all their offences past.

The Covenanters, at the first hearing of this peaceful Message, were much joyed; but, looking neerely into the words, they found (as they affirme) *That their precedent actions were tacitly condemned, and the just freedome of a National Synod taken-away.*

The Covenanters make a Protestation in answer to it.

Therefore, loath to be deceived, they frame a Protestation, not (as they alledged) mis-doubting the candor of the King, but not trusting those in favour with him; by whose destructive Counsel they supposed it was, that the King had not shewed this clemency at first.

The chiefe heads of their Protestation were these: First, after humble thanks to God and the King, they conceived this grant no sufficient remedy for their sores.

For His Majesty calls that a panick feare in them, which was upon no imaginary, but just, grounds, as a real mutation both of Religion and Lawes, by obtrusion of those Bookes directly popish.

Secondly, whereas the King in his former Mandates so highly extolled those Bookes, as most religious, and fit for the Church; they could not be satisfied with a bare remission of the exercise of them, unlesse he would utterly abrogate and condemne them; or else itching Innovators would not be wanting hereafter to raise new troubles to the Church about them.

Thirdly, the just liberty of National Synods is diminished, and Episcopacy set-up, they being allowed, as Bishops, though not deputed by the Churches, to give their voices in a Synod.

Fourthly, the subscribing againe of that old Covenant, could not be admitted, for many reasons there at large expressed; of which some are, That it would frustrate their late Covenant, and make it narrower than before, and not able to suit to the redresse of present grievances, and be a needlesse multiplying of Oathes, and taking the Name of God in vaine; with many other objections, which cannot be fully here inserted.

That Covenant, notwithstanding, was solemnly taken at *Edenburgh* by the Marquesse of HAMILTON, the King's Commissioner, and all the Privy Council.

The Marquesse then gave Order for the Synod, fearing least the Covenanters, if

if he delayed to call it, would do it themselves, and on the 16th of November came to *Glasco* in great state.

Where, after many meetings for preparation to the businesse, on the 21st of the same Moneth, according to the King's Edict, the National Synod began: But within seven daies that Synod was dissolved by the Marquesse HAMILTON, in the King's Name, and they commanded to sit no more.

A National Synod of the Church of Scotland is holden at Glasgow, on the 21st of November, 1638. But it is dissolved within seven days.

The Marquesse alleadging, for reason of it, that they had broken the Lawes of a free Synod in many proceedings, not onely in those few daies of their sitting, but before it began, in their manner of Elections, with other such-like matters.

But they protested against that dissolution, and continued the Synod when the Marquesse was gone. What were the Acts of that Synod, what proceedings it had, and what impediments it met withal, you may reade in two large descriptions, the one published by the King, the other by the Synod; how the Bishops protested against the Synod; how the Synod answered their Protestation; how the Synod wrote to the King; how they proceeded against the Bishops, deposing them all from their Dignities; how of all the fourteene Bishops, eight were excommunicated, foure excluded from all Ministerial Function, and two onely allowed to officiate as Pastours; how the five Articles of *Perth*, the Booke of Liturgy, the Booke of Canons and Ordination, were all condemned, the High Commission taken-away, and whatsoever else had crept into the Church since the yeare 1580, when that National Covenant was first established.

But the Synod continues it's sittings notwithstanding the Dissolution.

The Scots Covenanters, when themselves broke-up the Synod, wrote a Letter of thanks to the King, and immediately after published a Declaration, dated the fourth of February, 1638, from *Edenburgh*, and directed *To all the sincere and good Christians in England, to vindicate their actions and intentions, from those aspersions which enemies might throw upon them.*

The Covenanters publish an Address to the People of England; in February, 1638-9.

That Declaration was welcome to the people of *England* in general, and especially to those who stood best-affected to Religion, and the Lawes and Liberties of their Country: But by the King's Authority it was suppressed, as all other papers that might be sent from the Scots; and a Proclamation soone after, bearing date the 27th of February, 1638, was published by the King, and commanded to be read in all Churches of *England*; the Title of it was, *A Proclamation and Declaration to informe our loving Subjects of England, concerning the seditious Actions of some in Scotland, who, under false pretence of Religion, endeavour the utter subversion of our Royal Authority.*

The King publishes a Proclamation in England against the Scottish Covenanters, on the 27th of February, 1638-9.

The Declaration was filled with sharpe invectives and execrations against the Scottish Covenanters; but the truth is, it wrought little upon the hearts of the English People; who conceived a good opinion of the Scots; and were more confirmed in it, because the King had carried the whole businesse so closely from the English Nation, as not onely not to declare unto them in a Parliament, (which former Princes used to call upon lesse occasions) but not revealing

revealing the proceedings of it to the Body of his Privy Council, acquainting onely some of them, whom he thought fittest for his purpose, as the King himselfe expresseth in two places of his owne Booke, intituled, *A large Declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland*, page 76, and page 126. In fine, the Scots are declared Rebels; and the King in Person, with an English Army richly furnished, is going to chastise them.

The King declares the Scots to be rebels, and resolves to raise an English army to subdue them.

CHAP. V.

The averseness of the English people from this Warre with Scotland. The King advanceth to Yorke with his Army. The preparation of the Scottish Covenanters. A pacification is made, and both Armies disbanded. Another preparation for Warre with Scotland. A Parliament called to begin in England on the 13th of April. The Parliament of Scotland is broken-off by command of the King to the Earle of Traquare.

NEVER were the people of *England* so averse from any Warre, as neither hating the Enemy against whom, nor approving the cause for which, they were engaged.

The averseness of the English people from this war with Scotland.

Their owne great sufferings made them easily believe that the Scots were innocent, and wronged by the same hand by which themselves had beene oppressed. And for the cause, it was such wherein they could not desire a Victory; as they naturally supposed that the same Sword which subdued the Scots, must destroy their owne Liberties; and that the contrivers of this Warre were equal Enemies to both Nations.

Nor was this onely the thought of wisest Gentlemen, but the common people in general were sensible of the mutual interest of both Kingdomes.

Those Courtiers, who were in all things wholly compliant to the King's will, did also dislike this Warre with *Scotland*, though not for the same reason which the forenamed did; as not considering the cause, or quarrel, but the disadvantages of the Warre itselfe.

These disadvantages they used to vent in contemptuous expressions of the poverty of *Scotland*; "That nothing could be gotten from such wretched Enemies; That the King were happy (if with his Honour he might suffer it) to be rid of that Kingdome, and would be a great gainer by the losse of it." The younger Courtiers were usually heard to wish *Scotland* under water, or that the old Wall of *SEVERUS*, the Emperour, were now re-edified.

Those

Those Courtiers that were of a graver discourse, did likewise seeme to feare the consequence of this businesse, and, I remember, would daily mention the Story of CHARLES Duke of *Burgundy*, his pressing of a Warre upon the *Swissers*; and what PHILLIP DE COMMINES relates about the Battel of *Granson*, that the Duke lost to the value of three millions of Crownes; all which he fondly ventured against so wretched a people, that it is there expressed, if all the *Swissers* had been taken Prisoners, they would not be able to pay a Ransom to the value of the Spurres and Bridle-bits in his Campe: And very frequent in their mouthes was that Verse:

*Curandum imprimis ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.*

Juvenal.

Take heed of offering too great injuries
To people stout and poore.

But the people of *England*, though they abhorred the very thought of that unnatural Warre; yet glad they seemed to be, that such an occasion happened, which might in reason necessitate the King to call an English Parliament, and so, by accident, redresse the many grievances of *England*: Which might also prevent the feare of such Warres for the future, and bring a just punishment upon those who were found to be the Authors, or assistors, of this present disturbance.

The King raises an
army in England,
against the Scots
Covenanters.

But the King, though resolved to pursue his designe of Warre, yet, rather than take the advice of a Parliament, was content to want the aid of it; and to seeke supplies of a lower condition. Great sums of money he borrowed from the chiefe Nobility; and required proportionable Loanes from all the Judges and Officers; but specially the Clergy, of all ranks, were liberal in contribution to this War; which was then called by many men, *Bellum Episcopale*.

All Courtiers, as well extraordinary as ordinary, were summoned to attend the King in Person with Horse and Armes, in a proportion suitable to their rankes.

The Army is assem-
bled at York under
the command of the
Earl of Arundel.

By whom, and such voluntiers of the Gentry as came-in to gaine His Majesties favour, with old Souldiers, that imbraced it as their profession, a gallant Army was made-up, *Yorke* was appointed for the Rendezvouze, and the Earle of ARUNDELL Commander in chiefe.

The King, as it was well knowne, had beene advertised by many, and especially by the prosecuted Bishops, who were fled out of *Scotland*, that the Scottish Covenanters were in no sort able to resist him; That scarce any English Army at all would be needful to fight, but onely to appeare, and His Majesty would finde a party great enough in *Scotland* to do the worke.

And, indeed, much might have been done in that kinde, if the Lords of the Covenant had not used a most dexterous and timely prevention, which is as necessary in a defensive, as in an offensive, Warre.

For besides the feared incursion of the English upon their Borders, and what invasion the Deputy of *Ireland*, on the Westernne Coast, might make, together with

with the Earle of ANTRIM, and his Forces from the Hebrides; the Marquisse HUNTLEY in the North, and Marquisse DUGLAS towards the Southerne parts, with the Earle of HETH, were to be feared, and the Towne of *Aberdeen* to be secured, before it could fortifie to receive the King's Fleet.

All which, with timely care, was undertaken and provided against by several Lords, as ARGILE for the West, MONTROSSE for the North, Colonel MONROE for the South. The Scots take vigorous measures for the defence of Scotland.

The most considerable forts in that Kingdome were taken-in at the beginning, without any blood or resistance, and furnished by them with Ammunition, as *Edenburgh*, and *Dun-Britain*; and the Haven of *Leeth*, to secure *Edenburgh*, suddenly fortified. All Neuters, or suspected persons, they disarmed without tumult. The Castle of *Dalketh* they scaled and tooke, with all the warlike provision which had beene brought into it by Marquisse HAMILTON the yeare before. In that Castle they found the King's Crowne, Scepter and Sword; which, in great state and solemnity, were carried from thence by the greatest Noblemen, and layed-up in *Edenburgh* Castle.

The Covenanting Lords at the same time published a long Remonstrance, in answer to the King's Proclamation against them, the 27th *February*, and to satisfie the people of *England* concerning their proceedings and intents.

The Marquisse HAMILTON arrived at *Forth* with a Fleet in *May*, and sent letters to the Governour of *Edenburgh* to obey the King's Commands, and especially to publish in *Edenburgh* that Proclamation, which had been by the King proclaimed at *Yorke*, upon the 25th of *April*; wherein, among other things, the Rents and Debts due to Covenanters, from Tenants and other, are forbidden to be paid to them.

The Governour desired the Marquisse to expect an answer till the Parliament sate, which was to begin within few daies; who, [when they were assembled,] returned answer to the Marquisse, That they could not in that obey his Command, for many reasons, expressed at large in their Commentaries.

In the meane time the King commanded the Parliament to dissolve, which immediately obeyed; And, being threatned with Warre on every side, elected Sir ALEXANDER LESLEY, an experienced Commander in the German Warres, to be their great General; to whom all the greatest Earles and Lords of the Covenant, swore obedience in all warlike Commands; taking an Oath of him for performance of his duty; and immediately betook themselves every man to his charge, through-
out all parts of the Kingdome, according as they were commanded by LESLEY. The Scots chuse Sir Alexander Lesley for the General of their army.

Whilst the Armies on both sides advanced forward, and no decision of this difference seemed with reason to be hoped-for, but such as the stroke of Warre must allow; the Scottish Covenanters did, neverthesse, continue their first course of petitioning the King; and, by many addresses to him, protested their loyalty to his Crowne and Person; and did not omit by Letters and Messages, to sollicite, as
F Advocates,

Advocates, those English Noblemen, whom they esteemed the best and truest Patriots, as the Earles of ESSEX, PEMBROOKE, and HOLLAND, as supposing that this Warre was not approved of by any that were firme to the Cause of Religion and Liberties of both Kingdomes, (for so themselves expresse it.)

The Earle of DUMFERLING, having free passage about that time to the English Army, assured his fellow-Covenanters, that those Noble fore-named Earles, and almost all the English Nobility, were much averse from this Warre, and favourers of their suit to the King.

Which did so much encourage the Covenanters to continue their humble Petitions to the King, (and God being pleased to give his blessing) that, after some few Messages to and fro, the King was pleased to give leave, that six of them should come and personally treat at the Earle of ARUNDELL his Tent, upon the tenth of June, with some of the English Nobility; at which Discourses, some few daies after, the King himselfe vouchsafed to be present: At last, after many humble expressions of the Covenanters, and some expostulations of the King with them, by the happy mediation of wise and noble Counsellors, a Pacification was solemnly made upon such Articles as gave full satisfaction to all parties, save onely that the Scottish Covenanters were not pleased with some expressions which the King had used in the Preface to the Pacificatory Edict, as calling their late Synod, *Pseudo-Synodus Glasguensis*; and aspersing their proceedings in Armes, with such Epithites, as *tumultuous, illegal, and rebellious*.

Which notwithstanding, at the humble suit of them, the King was pleased to moderate, to expunge some of those harsh phrases; as likewise to explaine more cleerely other ambiguous sentences, to take-away all suspicions from peoples hearts; the Copies of which were delivered to divers of the English Nobility, who had taken faithful paines in procuring that happy peace; that, if any doubts should afterwards happen, their judgements might be taken concerning the intention of the writing.

The King also declared, for satisfaction of the Scots, That, though his expressions at some places might seeme harsh, yet his meaning to them was never the worse; That care must be taken of his owne reputation in forraigne parts; and that litigation about words was vaine, when the matter was cleere, and their suit wholly granted.

The King granted them a free National Synod, to be holden upon the sixth of August following, and a Parliament to begin upon the 20th day of the same Moneth, to confirme and ratifie what the Synod should decree; which the Scots thankfully receive, esteeming that to be the only proper and efficacious way to settle a firme peace both in Church and State.

They were also joyful, that the King had promised to be there himselfe in person. But that hope afterwards failed them; for the King excused himselfe, affirming, that urgent and weighty affaires at London, as he was certified by Letters from his Queen and Council, required his presence there; but that he would send
a Deputy

A treaty of Peace
between the King
and the Scots is open-
ed on the 10th of
June, 1639.

a Deputy thither, with full power to make good whatsoever he had promised; which was the Earle of TRAQUARE.

This Pacification, to the great joy of good men, was solemnly concluded on the 18th of *June*, 1639, and both Armies, within eight and forty houres, to be disbanded: which was accordingly done, and both the English and Scots returned home, praising God; who, without any effusion of blood, had compounded this difference, and prevented a Warre so wickedly designed.

The Pacification is concluded on the 18th of June, 1639.

But that joy lasted not long; for the Earle of TRAQUARE, the King's Commissioner, could not agree with the Scottish Parliament; the Scots complaining, that nothing was seriously performed, which the King had promised at the Pacification; as shall more appeare afterward.

The Scottish Parliament complains, that the king does not perform the articles of the Pacification.

But, however it were, within a little time after that the King had been at London, that paper which the Scots avowed to containe the true conditions of that Pacification, was by the King disavowed, and commanded by Proclamation to be burned by the hands of the hangman: though the Contents of that Paper were not named at all in the Proclamation, nor the people of *England* acquainted with any of them. Which put the English in great feare that the former Counsels of divisions yet prevailed in the Court, especially discerning a shew of preparation for Warre againe.

But (leaving the Scots at their Parliament a while,) in the meane time, the Lord WENTWORTH, Deputy of *Ireland*, arrived in *England*, and was received by the King with great expressions of grace and favour, dignified with a higher Title, and created Earle of *Strafford*.

The Lord Wentworth comes over to England. And is created Earl of Strafford.

Great was the expectation of all the English, what might be the effect of his coming-over; great was the opinion which men in general had conceived of his ability and parts; looking at him as the onely hinge, upon which the State was now likely to turne. But very different and various were the conjectures of Gentlemen at that time, in their ordinary discourses, (for I will relate the truth,) what use this great Statesman would make of his ability and favour.

Some (as they wished) did seeme to hope, when they considered his first right Principles, that whatsoever he had acted since his greatnesse, was but to ingratiate himselfe perfectly with the King; that so at last, by his wisdom and favour, he might happily prevaile both upon the King's judgement and affection, and carry him from those evil Counsels which he had long beene nurtured-in, to such waies as should render him most honourable and happy; That the Earle was so wise as to understand what most became a wise man, and would make greatnesse beloved and permanent.

But others durst not hope so much from him, when they considered his Government in *Ireland*, and the ambition of the man: They feared that neither his vertue was great enough to venture his owne fortunes, by opposing any evil Counsels about the King, nor his favour great-enough to prevaile in over-ruling; That he was sent-for onely to compleat that bad worke, which others, of lesse braine than he, had begun.

Which [bad worke] he would sooner venture to do, than to make himselfe the author of a new and good one; seeing, it hath been observed, that few Statesmen have ever opposed Princes, but rather seconded and assisted them in their bad inclinations.

From whence it comes, that few Statesmen have converted Princes from ill courses, but been themselves perverted from that goodnesse which seemed to be before in them. Historians, therefore, neither imputed the goodnesse of AUGUSTUS to MARCUS AGRIPPA, or STATILIUS TAURUS; nor the faults of TIBERIUS to SEJANUS. According to that sentence of MACHIAVEL, *Recta consilia, à quocunque profiscuntur, à Principis prudentiâ; non autem Principis prudentia à rectis consiliis derivatur.*

The king declares an intention of calling an English Parliament, to meet in April, 1640.

The Earl of Strafford returns to Ireland in December, 1639, to summon an Irish Parliament.

The Parliament of Scotland is prorogued on the 18th of December, 1639.

The Scots send four Earls, as their Commissioners, to the King, to complain of his breaches of the late Pacification.

At that time the King declared to his Council an intention that he had of calling a Parliament in *England*, to begin in *April* following. The people seemed to wonder at so great a novelty as the name of a Parliament; but feared some further designe, because it was so long deferred: whilst, in the meane time, preparations for a Warre against *Scotland* seemed to go forward, and the Deputy of *Ireland* was first to go-over, and summon a Parliament in *Ireland*, which he accordingly did, crossing the Seas about the end of *December*.

What worke he was to do there, the people knew not, but wished that the English Parliament might have begun before the Scottish businesse had proceeded too farre; which [meeting of the English Parliament] they supposed, might happily prevent so sad a Warre, and save those charges which would before *April* grow upon such warlike preparations, and require a supply from that Parliament: [for] that it were better to prevent such a necessity than purposely to stay till that necessity were made.

On the 18th day of that *December*, the Earle of TRAQUARE, by a Command from the King, under his Privy Seale, broke-up the Parliament in *Scotland*, and prorogued it till the second day of *June* in the following yeare.

The Scots complained that it was a new example and breach of their liberties, not heard-of before in twenty ages; That a Parliament, fully assembled, and compleat in all her Members, whilst businesse of moment was depending, should be dissolved without the consent of the House itselfe; That, whatsoever Kings in other Kingdomes might do, it concerned not them to enquire; but it was absolutely against their Lawes, according to which, the King had lately promised them he would onely proceed.

TRAQUARE, immediately upon the dissolution of the Scottish Parliament, hastened to the Court of *England* to certifie the King of all proceedings.

And the Parliament-Deputies of *Scotland* dispatched-away, with special instructions to the King, also foure Commissioners, the Earles of DUMFERLING and LOWDEN, DUGLASSE, and BARCLAY.

Their instructions were, That before the King himselfe, not the Council of *England* (because of the independency of that Kingdome) they should complaine of those injuries, and intreat redresse, which had been offered to them since the Pacification; The dissolving of their Parliament; the Garrisoning of *Edenburgh* Castle with three times as many [soldiers] as would serve for defence; The gar-
risoning

prisoning of *Dun-Britain* Castle with English Souldiers; That the Scots trading in *England*, but more especially in *Ireland*, were enforced to new Oathes, damning their late Covenant, and contrary to the Articles of Pacification.

They sent withal an information to the English Nation in general, touching all their proceedings and intentions, and expressing at large (as may be there read) what particular injuries they had received since the Pacification, and how much contrary to that Agreement.

The foure Scottish forenamed Commissioners, after some audiences before the King, and divers of his English Council, were in *March* committed to Prison, the King intending shortly to charge them, the Parliament being neere; **LOWDEN** to the Tower, and the other three to other custody.

The king commits the four Scottish Commissioners to Prison, in March, 1639-40.

About this time the Earle of **STRAFFORD**, returning out of *Ireland*, where he had held a short Parliament, and gotten foure Subsidies from them, came to the King againe; and, the English Parliament being presently to begin, an accusation was drawne against **LOWDEN**, then Prisoner in the Tower, concerning a Letter written from the Scottish Covenanters to the French King; to which Epistle the said Earle had set his hand.

The Earl of Strafford comes over to England again, in April, 1640.

The matter of accusation was, That the Scots, weary of obedience to their owne King, had recourse to a forraigne Prince for assistance, and by that meanes might draw the Armies of *France* into this Island.

His answer was, The Letter was written in *May*, 1629, when *Scotland* was threatned with a grievous invasion, and they had notice, that, by Ambassadors and Agents, their Cause was represented odious to all forraigne Princes and States; That their intention was to clear themselves from those aspersions abroad, and especially to the King of *France*, whose Ancestors had been ancient friends to the Kingdome of *Scotland*; and for feare least that King might possibly be wrought-upon to be their Enemy otherwise.

That it was not to draw Warlike assistance from the King of *France* (which neverthelesse they thought lawful in an extreame necessity and persecution) but only his médiation in their behalf to their owne King; and that the Letter, well examined, would beare no other sense; Though there were mention of aid, yet their secret instructions to their Messenger had specified what kinde of aid it was which they desired; But, howsoever, they alledged, that the draught of that Letter did not then please them, nor was it at all consented-to, nor intended to be sent; besides that, the Superscription, *To the King*, at which so great exception was taken, as if they acknowledged the French King for their Sovereigne, was not written at all by them, but added by some Enemy after that it was gotten-out of their hands. Besides all this, the thing was done before the Pacification and Act of Oblivion, and ought not now to be remembred against them. Whether their answer were sufficient or not, true it is, that nothing at all was made of that businesse, though the King himselfe at the beginning of the English Parliament, mentioned it against the Scots, as a prooffe of their disloyalty, and justification of those Warlike preparations which he had made against them.

The

The Scots send an address to the English Parliament, in justification of their proceedings.

The Scots, in the meane time, had written to the English Parliament a large Justification of all their proceedings, intreating them, by the way of Brotherly advice, *To be wary in vindicating their owne Lawes and Liberties, to frustrate the designe of those evil Counsellors, who had procured this Parliament for no other end, than to arme the King with warlike supplies against his Scottish Subjects, and by that Warre to enslave, if not ruine, both the Nations; That, after so many violations and dissolutions of Parliaments in England, this was not called to redresse grievances, but to be so over-reached (if they were not careful and couragious) that no possibility should be left for the future of redressing any; That some dangerous practise might be well suspected, when, at the same time, a Parliament was denyed to Scotland, though promised by the word of a King; granted to England, when not expected; and obtruded upon Ireland, when not desired.*

Many particulars of that nature were expressed in the Scottish Remonstrance.

CHAP. VI.

The Parliament beginneth in England, but is soone dissolved. The Clergy continue their Convocation. The Scots enter into England. Some passages of the Warre. A Parliament is called to begin on the third of November. A Truce betweene the Armies for two Moneths.

UPON the thirteenth of *April* the Parliament began; when the King produced that forenamed writing of his Scottish Subjects to the French King, as an apparent token of their disloyalty, and a necessity in him of chastising them by Armes; for which he had already made so great a preparation, as required a present supply of money from this Parliament. To the same purpose that the King had briefly expressed himself, the Lord Keeper FINCH, in a long and eloquent Oration, dilated the businesse.

The English Parliament meets on the 13th of April, 1640.

Twelve subsidies were demanded by the King, in lieu of which, the release of Ship-Money was promised; to which demand answer was made by divers Members of the House in several Speeches, "That Redresse of grievances was the chiefe end of assembling Parliaments, and ought to precede granting of Subsidies. Which not onely Reason, but the constant Practise of all ages, had confirmed; That there was never more need of redressing grievances than at this time; without which the people would repine to part with twelve Subsidies; That the sum was extraordinary great, especially to be given for releasing of that which they never conceived the King had any Title-to, but had taken by power against the Lawes."

The King promised that grievances should be afterwards redressed, but required the Money first, because there was a necessity of hastening the Warre; without which the opportunity of Summer would be lost. To which it was answered by many, "That the people had no reason to pay for that which was never caused nor desired by them, nor could any way prove to their good, but, quite contrary, to the danger and detriment of the whole Kingdome; That the same people would undoubtedly

undoubtedly pay with more willingnesse so many Subsidies to prevent that unhappy Warre, to settle the State, and punish the principal contrivers or assistors of that disturbance."

Among all the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, who spake to that purpose, the Lord GEORGE DIGBY, Sonne to the Earle of *Bristol* (a young Nobleman of extraordinary abilities) was eminent for a Speech there; wherein complaining that the House was required to give present answer concerning supplies to the King, to ingage himself in a Warre, and that a Civil Warre; *For*, said he, *so I must needs call it, seeing we are of the same Religion, and under the same King.* He divided his Complaint into five heads:

1. *We are not permitted to redresse grievances at all.*
2. *We are not permitted so much as to represent to His Majesty the dis-affection of his Subjects to this Warre.*
3. *We are not permitted to say, That we thinke they are the same persons that are the causers of our grievances, and the grievances of Scotland; and that the cutting-off of those Incendiaries of State, would be a safe, easie, and honourable cure.*
4. *That Warre will make the breach wider, and the remedy desperate.*
5. *That the best Justice is, to fill the pits which are made to intrap others, with the bodies of those that digged them, &c.*

Master PYM also, a grave and religious Gentleman, in a long Speech of almost two houres, recited a Catalogue of all the grievances which at that time lay heavy upon the Common-wealth.

Of which many abbreviated Copies, as extracting the heads onely, were with great greedinesse taken by Gentlemen, and others throughout the Kingdom; for it was not then in fashion to print Speeches of Parliament.

Divers of the Members besides (too many to be here named) did fully descant upon such particular grievances, as they had informed themselves of, in their several Counties and Burroughs.

But it is most true, though it have been said, *Quicquid multis peccatur, inultum est*, That there was never any Parliament which was more unanimous in apprehension of grievances, and yet more moderate in the Language and manner of declaring against them. And so great seemed to be their care of offending in this Parliament, (being the first that in so many yeares had been granted to *England*;) that, notwithstanding they perceived that the Money they were to give to the King, must be employed against their owne interest, yet they took the Subsidies into consideration;

consideration; by which they might, perchance, gaine the King's affection to Parliaments; and were content to hope, that, whilst the Houses sate, the bad Council about the King might be awed into moderation; and the Warre against *Scotland*, by wise and honest interpositions, might be againe composed, as it had been the Summer before.

But whilst the businesse was in debate, whether they were not quick enough in granting, or the Conditions were too much feared by the King, I will not judge, but onely relate what was done.

The King in Person came into the House upon the fifth of *May*, and dissolved the Parliament, but used faire language to them, protesting that he would governe as much according to Law, as if a Parliament were constantly sitting:

The King dissolves it on the 5th of May, 1640.

Yet, the next day after the dissolution of it, some Members were imprisoned; the Lord BROOKE was searched for Papers, his Study, Cabinets, and Pockets; Master BELLOSI, and Sir JOHN HOTHAM, were committed to Prison for Speeches, but soone discharged; Master CREW, who was a Member of the House of Commons, and was in the Chaire for Petitions concerning Ministers, was committed to the Tower, for not discovering some Petitions delivered to him in Parliament, and continued a Prisoner almost to the beginning of the next Parliament.

And the next day commits some of the Members to Prison, on account of their Speeches in Parliament.

After the dissolution of this Parliament, the Convocation of Divines continued their sitting, and, by authority from the King, made divers Canons, and an Oath to be imposed not onely upon Clergymen, but on many of the Laity.

The Convocation of the Clergy continues to sit after the Dissolution of the Parliament.

That continuance of the Convocation, (whatsoever themselves, perchance ignorant of the Law, might thinke of it,) was judged to be very illegal; as it appeared by the Votes of the succeeding Parliament, and the opinion of Lawyers delivered there.

When Master BAGSHAW, the *November* following, inveighing against those Canons which were made whilst they sate, proved the Bishops and Clergy in a *premunire*: The Lord DIGBY at the same time affirming, that their Convocation was a new Synod, patched out of an old Conventicle. Many other Lawyers of note, at several times, argued the case concerning those Canons.

Insomuch that the House of Commons, in *December* following, *nullo contradicente*, resolved that those Canons were against the fundamental Lawes of the Kingdome, the Property and Liberty of the Subject: And, in the following *April*, 1641, falling againe upon the late Convocation, for their Canons and other misdemeanours, they voted the Convocation-House in 200,000 pounds fine to the King; The Archbishop of *Canterbury* to pay 20,000 pounds, the Archbishop of *Yorke* 10,000 pounds, the Bishop of *Chester* 3000 pounds; and the rest of the Clergy, according to their abilities proportionably, to make-up the summe.

Certaine it is, it was not in any substantial way advantageous to the King; but onely to give them time and opportunity to taxe the Clergy in Money for supplying his Majesty in the Warre then on foot against the Scots.

The King must needs be driven to a great exigent at that time, having so expensive a Warre in hand, and wanting the assistance of Parliament.

The courses that were then taken by the King, to supply that defect, were

partly

The King raises money by illegal methods.

partly the contribution of the Clergy, to whom that Warre was lesse displeasing, than to the Laiety.

Collections were made among the Papists; Writs of Ship-money were issued out againe, in a greater proportion than before; great Loanes were attempted to be drawne from the City of *London*, to which purpose the names of the richest Citizens were by command returned to the Council-Board. But, these waies being not sufficient, some others were made use of, which were of a nature more unusual, as the seizing of *Bolloine* [or Bullion] in the Tower; the Lord COTTINGTON also, for the King's use, tooke-up a great Commodity of Pepper at the Exchange, to be sold againe at an under-rate.

A consultation was also had of coyning 400,000 l. of base Money, upon allegation that Queen ELIZABETH had done the like for her Irish Warres: but the King waved that, upon reasons which the Merchants gave of the inconveniences of it.

The Scots resolve to march an Army into England, in June, 1640.

The Scots, hearing of the breach of this English Parliament, thought it high time to provide for their owne safety; and, being restrained in their Trade, and impoverished by losse of Ships seized in divers parts, resolve to enter *England* with a sword in one hand, and a Petition in the other; signifying in the meane time to the people of *England* in two large Remonstrances, what their intentions were to that Nation, and the reasons of their entrance; which who so pleases, may reade at large in their printed Booke.

The King raises an English Army to meet at York, under the command of the Earl of Strafford.

When the King had notice of the Scots intentions, a Fleet was forthwith sent to annoy the Maritime Coasts of *Scotland*, and a Land-Army to meet at *Yorke*, where the Earl of STRAFFORD, as President of the North, commanded in Chief, though the Earle of NORTHUMBERLAND, at the time of raising the Army, was named *Generalissimo*, but, for want of health, could not be present.

A great Magazine of Ammunition had been sent to *Hull*, *Newcastle*, and *Berwick*, the Castle of *Edenburgh* being kept by RIVEN, a firme man to the King's side.

The common Soldiers of the English Army shew a great dislike of this war.

But in the Expedition of the King's Army towards the North, it was a marvelous thing to observe in divers places the aversenesse of the Common Souldiers from this Warre.

Though Commanders and Gentlemen of great quality, in pure obedience to the King, seemed not at all to dispute the cause, or consequence, of this Warre; the Common Souldiers would not be satisfied, questioning in a mutinous manner, "Whether their Captaines were Papists or not," and in many places were not appeased till they saw them receive the Sacrament; laying violent hands on divers of their Commanders, and killing some, uttering in bold speeches their distaste of the Cause, to the astonishment of many, that common people should be sensible of publike Interest and Religion, when Lords and Gentlemen seemed not to be so.

By this backwardnesse of the English Common Souldiers, it came to passe that the Warre proved not so sharpe and fatal to both Nations, as it might otherwise have done.

Some

Some blood was shed, but very little, first, at *Newburne*, a Towne five miles distant from *Newcastle*, where part of the English Army encamped to intercept the passage of the Scots, as they marched toward *Newcastle*.

The Scots take possession of the Counties of Northumberland and Durham, in August, 1640.

But many of the English Souldiers forsooke their Commanders and fled, sooner than the use of that Nation is to do in Warre: But the English Horse made good a fight, and with great courage and resolution charged upon the Scots, but all in vaine, their number being too small.

In this Skirmish, which happened upon the 28th of *August*, the number of men slaine on both sides is not related, either by the English or Scottish Relation; but certaine it is, that it was not great.

A skirmish at Newburne on the 28th. of August, 1640.

Three valiant and active Commanders of the English Army were taken Prisoners, Colonel *WILMOT*, Sir *JOHN DIGBY*, and *ONEALE*, the two latter being Papists, and both Captaines of Horse.

This fight opened that rich Towne of *Newcastle* to the Scots, and within few daies after, they put a Garrison into *Durham*, commanded by the Earle of *Dumferling*, and, taking that Fort of *Newcastle upon Tine*, intercepted some Ships which were newly-arrived there with Provision of Corne for the King's Army.

Some blood was also shed about the same time, when part of the English Garrison at *Berwick*, hearing that some Ammunition was layed-up in a little Towne of *Scotland*, *Dunsian*, made an attempt upon it, but found it better fortified than was expected, and were repelled with some slaughter; from whence, hearing that a greater power of Scots was making toward them, under the command of the Lord *HADINTON*, (who unfortunately perished afterward, blowne-up with powder at *Dunglasse*) they returned to *Berwick*.

Another at Dunsian near Berwick.

The King, during these Skirmishes, had, by Proclamation, warned all the English Nobility, with their followers and Forces, to attend his Standard at *Yorke* against the Scots, on the 20th of *September*; where, whilst himselfe in Person resided, he received an humble Petition from the Scots, containing an expression of their loyalty to him, and the innocence of their intentions toward *England*.

But their expressions were in such general termes, that the King returned answer to the Earle of *LANURICK*, Secretary for *Scotland*, Commanding them to specifie their demands more particularly: Which, whilst the Scots prepared to do, it pleased God to open the hearts of many English Lords, who, considering and bewailing the great calamity and dishonour which *England* was then throwne into, by these unhappy proceedings of the King, framed an humble Letter, subscribed by all their hands, and sent it to his Majesty, wherein they represent to him the miserable condition of the Kingdome, and mischiefs attending that wicked Warre; as the danger of his Person, the waste of his Revenue, the burden of his Subjects, the rapines committed by that Army which he had raised; wherein Papists, and others ill-affected to Religion, are armed in Commands, who are not by the Lawes permitted to have Armes in their owne houses; The great mischiefe which may fall upon the Kingdome, if his intentions, which are reported, of bringing-in Irish and forraigne Forces, should take effect; The urging of Ship-money; The

A great number of English Lords who attended the King at York, petition him in September, 1640, to call another Parliament.

multitude

multitude of Monopolies and other Patents, to the great and universal grievance of his people; The great grieve of the Subjects, for the long intermission of Parliaments, for dissolving of the last, and former dissolutions of such as have been called, without any good effect: For remedy whereof, and for prevention of future dangers to his owne Royal Person, and the whole State, they humbly intreat his Majesty, That he would be pleased to summon a Parliament within some short and convenient time, whereby the causes of these, and other great grievances, which the people lye-under, may be taken-away, and the Authors and Counsellors of them may be brought to legal tryal and condigne punishment; And that this Warre may be composed without blood, in such manner as may conduce to the honour and safety of his Majesty, the comfort of the people, and uniting of both Kingdomes against the Common Enemy of the Reformed Religion. Subscribed by almost twenty Earles and Barons.

The King complies with this advice, and summons another Parliament to meet at Westminster, on the 3d of November, 1640.

The King, receiving this Message from the Peeres of *England*, by his Proclamation ordained a day, which was upon 24th *September*, for all the Lords to meet at *Yorke*, to whom he declared, that, of his owne free accord, he had determined to call a Parliament in *England*, to begin as soone as possibly could be, allowing the usual time for issuing out of Writs, which was upon the third of *November* ensuing, 1640.

But he desired, first, to consult with them, what answer to returne to the Scots demands, and how with his honour he might deale with them, who had so boldly invaded *England*.

And, to make them understand the whole state of the businesse, he commanded the Earle of *TRAQUARE*, who had been his Commissioner there, to relate all occurrences since the beginning.

He desired likewise their advice, how his Army might be payed before the supplies of Parliament could come.

A treaty with the Scots for a Cessation of Hostilities, in October, 1640.

After many debates, and different opinions in point of honour and convenience, it was at last agreed by the greater part of Peeres, and so concluded, that sixteene Lords should be chosen to treat with the Scots, and agree upon what Conditions they thought fit.

Eight Earles were named, *BEDFORD*, *ESSEX*, *HARTFORT*, *SALISBURY*, *WARWICK*, *HOLLAND*, *BRISTOLL*, and *BARKSHIRE*; as likewise eight Barons, *WHARTON*, *PAGET*, *KIMBOLTON*, *BROOKE*, *PAWLET*, *HOWARD*, *SAVILE*, and *DUNSMORE*.

The Scots were required to send as many, with full Commission, to whom Letters of safe-conduct in the amplest manner were granted.

When the matter came to debate, the Earle of *Bristoll* for the most part was Prolocutour to the English, and the Earle of *LOWDEN* to the Scots.

After many demands on both sides, and expostulations upon slighter matters, which were easily reconciled, there was one point, which seemed too hard a case in the eyes of the English Peeres, that the Scottish Army should be payed by the English, whilst their owne Army was in great distresse by reason of Arreares.

But

But in conclusion, those honest Lords, who understood the condition of that unhappy Warre, were content upon any termes to make an end of it; and in conclusion an agreement was made upon these termes:

1. *A Truce, or Cessation of Armes, for two Moneths, till the 16th of December.*
2. *That 850l. a-day should be paid to the Scots, during that Truce.*
3. *That, if it were not payed, the Scots might force it from the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham.*
4. *That those Counties should be allowed the Scots for their winter-Quarters.*
5. *No new preparations for Warre to be made.*
6. *That private injuries should not breake the Truce, so satisfaction were made upon complaint.*
7. *That Merchants might freely traffique in either Kingdome, without Letters of safe-conduct, but Souldiers without leave might not passe their limits.*

The Terms of the Treaty agreed on, October 16, 1640.

Upon such termes was this unnatural Warre (although the Armies could not as yet be disbanded) brought to a Cessation; and both Nations rested in assured confidence, that a peace must needs follow, since the whole matter was now to be debated in the English Parliament, which was to begin about a fortnight after; for it was likely that a Parliament should put a period to that Warre, which could never have been begun, but for want of a Parliament. They were also confident, that that freedome which the fundamental Lawes and Constitution of the Kingdome of *England* allow to Parliaments, could not be denyed to this (though to many others it had long been) as being that Parliament, to which the King was necessitated; and the onely way which was now left him to tread, after so many deviations unfortunately tried; and upon which the people had set-up their utmost hope, whom it seemed not safe, after so long suffering, to provoke any further.

In what a desperate condition the Kingdome of *England* was at that time, what necessity there was of a present cure, with how much difficulty that cure was to be wrought, and with what warinesse and wisdome it concerned both King and people to play their parts, a judicious Reader may partly conjecture by the former passages already related.

But

But further to enlighten the Reader (for in this plaine Relation I shall be sparing to use any descants of my owne) I will referre him to Speeches which at the beginning of this Parliament were made by judicious Gentlemen, and those of greatest moderation, labouring, as much as they could possibly, to spare the King, and touch tenderly upon his Honour; which I shall mention anon.

According to the reason of the Parliament and Kingdome, went along the sense of Courtiers themselves (as was expressed in an ingenuous Treatise found in the privy Chamber) concerning the condition in which the King and Kingdome of *England* were, when this so-much-expected Parliament was to begin.

That the Courtiers should be allowed the Scots for their winter quarters.

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47

CHAP. VII.

The beginning of the English Parliament. Grievances examined. Sufferers relieved. Delinquents questioned. The Archbishop of Canterbury committed to the Tower. The flight of Secretary WINDEBANKE, and of the Lord Keeper FINCH.

ON the third of November 1640, the Parliament began; where the King expressed himselfe very well, in a Speech gracious and acceptable to both Houses; who did not expect from him any such acknowledgement of former errours, as might seeme too low for the Majestie of his Person; but onely desired to gaine his affection for the future.

The beginning of the
English Parliament,
November 3, 1640.

Very pleasing to them all was that gracious expression, that *He did now cleerly and freely put himselfe upon the love and affections of his English Subjects, desiring them to consider the best way for the Safety and Security of the Kingdome of England; and in order to it, for satisfaction of their just grievances, wherein he would so heartily concur, that the world might see his intentions were to make it a glorious and flourishing Kingdome. In which businesse he did freely and willingly leave it to them where to beginne.*

He desired also that all Jealousies and Suspensions might be layed-aside by them, which he promised to doe on his part. And withal, to give some reasonable colour to his former Warre, whether to excuse or justifie the Proceedings of it, he seemed as yet much distasted with the boldnesse of the Scots, who had entred *England* with an Army against his will; calling them by the name of Rebels; and that it concerned the honour of him and *England*, to drive them out againe.

And, in his second Speech, two daies after, *I told you (said he) that the Rebels must be put out of this Kingdome; it is true, I must needs call them so, so long as they have an Army that do invade us; although I am under Treaty with them, and under my Great Seale doe call them Subjects; for so they are too.*

His

His desire to have them out, was sweetned with that reason, That he was sensible how much his English Subjects of the North would suffer otherwise.

All which, with more particulars, was set-forth in a long Oration by the Lord FINCH; who likewise justified the King's intention of calling this Parliament, before the Peeres petitioned him at *Yorke*.

Though the King were thanked for his Grace towards his English Parliament; yet that motion, of expelling the Scots, was otherwise considered-of by the Houses, as will appeare in the particulars of it: For about a weeke after it was ordered by House of Commons, That 100,000 *l.* should be paid to the two Armies, to be levied rateably upon all the Counties of *England*, (except the Northerne Counties, which were then charged) and, till it could be levied, the Money to be taken-up at interest.

Scottish Commissioners come to London, November, 19, 1640.

And Scottish Commissioners were allowed to come and exhibite their complaints, and dispute the businesse at *London*; who accordingly came thither about the nineteenth day of the same Moneth; for the business was not yet ended, but still in Treaty, which Treaty (as the King said in his Speech) was but transported from *Rippon* to *London*.

Before the great cure, which was expected from this Parliament, could go-on, it was necessary that some time should be spent in searching and declaring the wounds; which, in divers elegant and judicious Speeches, was done by some Members of both Houses.

The abuses which of late yeares had been committed about Religion, and the manifold violations of Lawes and Liberties, were upon the first day after the House of Commons was settled, being the ninth of *November*, enumerated and discoursed-upon by Master GRIMSTON, Sir BENJAMIN RUDYERD, Master PYM, and Master BAGSHAW; and the abuses of *Ireland*, reflecting much upon the Earle of *Strafford*, were opened by Sir John CLOTWORTHY, of *Devon*, but living in *Ireland*.

The like Speeches for many daies following, were made by divers Gentlemen of great quality; where, in the midst of their complaints, the King was never mentioned, but with great Honour; They alwaies mixing thanks for the present hope of redresse, with their complaints of former grievances.

The first of which they rendred to the King, and threw the other upon his Ministers; of which if the Reader would see a perfect exemplar, Sir BENJAMIN RUDYERD's Speech (the second that was delivered in the House) will best discover the present state of grievances, and the way of sparing the King; he being a Religious, Learned, and Judicious Gentleman,

Cujus erant mores qualis facundia.

Whose Speech I shall wholly insert, that the condition of the State may the better be understood.

Master

Master Speaker :

WEE are here assembled to doe God's businesse, and the King's, in which our owne is included, as we are Christians, as we are Subjects: Let us, first, feare God; then shall we honour the King the more: for I am afraid we have beene the lesse prosperous in Parliaments, because we have preferred other matters before him. Let Religion be our Primum quærite; for all things else are but Et cæteras to it: yet we may have them too, sooner and surer, if we give God his preceedence.

A speech of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, on the State of Religion.

We well know what disturbance hath been brought upon the Church for vaine, petty, trifles; How the whole Church, the whole Kingdome, hath been troubled, where to place a Metaphor, an Altar.

We have seene Ministers, their wives, children, and families, undone, against Law, against conscience, against all bowels of compassion, about not dancing upon Sundaies: What do these sort of men thinke will become of themselves, when the Master of the House shall come and finde them thus beating their fellow-Servants?

These inventions were but sieves, made of purpose to winnow the best men; and that is the Devil's occupation.

They have a minde to worry preaching; for I never yet heard of any but diligent Preachers that were vext with these and the like devices.

They despise Prophecy, and, as one said, they would faine be at something were like the Masse, that will not bite; a muzzled Religion. They would evaporate and dis-spirit the power and vigour of Religion, by drawing it out into solemne and specious formalities, into obsolete, antiquated, Ceremonies, new furbish'd-up. And this (belike) is that good worke in hand, which Doctor HEYLIN hath so celebrated in his bold Pamphlets: All their acts and actions are so full of mixtures, involutions, and complications, as nothing is cleare, nothing sincere, in any of their proceedings. Let them not say, That these are the perverse suspicions, malicious interpretations, of some factious spirits amongst us, when a Romanist hath bragged and congratulated in print, That the face of our Church begins to alter, the Language of our Religion to change: and SANCTA CLARA hath published, That, if a Synod were held Non intermixtis Puritanis, setting Puritans aside, our Articles and their Religion would soone be agreed.

They have so brought it to passe, that, under the name of Puritans, all our Religion is branded; and, under a few hard words against Jesuits, all Popery is countenanced.

H

Whosoever

Whosoever squares his actions by any rule, either divine or humane, he is a Puritan: Whosoever would be governed by the King's Lawes, he is a Puritan.

He that will not do whatsoever other men would have him do, he is a Puritan. Their great worke, their Masterpiece, now is, to make all those of the Religion, to be the suspected party of the Kingdome.

Let us further reflect upon the ill effect these courses have wrought, what by a defection from us on the one side, a separation on the other; some, imagining whither we are tending, made haste to turne, or declare themselves Papists before-hand; thereby hoping to render themselves the more gracious, the more acceptable. A great company of the King's Subjects, striving to hold communion with us; but seeing how farre we were gone, and fearing how much further we would go, were forc'd to fly the Land, some into other inhabited Countries, very many into savage Wildernesses, because the Land would not beare them. Do not they that cause this, cast a reproach upon the Government?

Master Speaker:

Let it be our principal care, that these waies neither continue, nor return upon us; if we secure our Religion, we shall cut-off and defeat many plots that are now on foot by them and others. Beleeve it, Sir, Religion hath been for a long time, and still is, the great designe upon this Kingdome. It is a knowne and practised principle, That they who would introduce another Religion into the Church, must, first, trouble and disorder the Government of the State, that so they may worke their ends in a confusion, which now lies at the doore.

I come next, Master Speaker, to the King's businesse more particularly; which indeed is the Kingdome; for one hath no existence, no being, without the other, their relation is so neere; yet some have strongly and subtilly laboured [to make] a divorce [between them], which hath been the very bane of both King and Kingdome.

When foundations are shaken, it is high time to looke to the building. He hath no heart, no head, no soule, that is not moved in his whole man, to looke upon the distresses, the miseries, of the Common-wealth;—that is not forward, in all that he is and hath, to redresse them in a right way.

The King, likewise, is reduced to great streights, wherein it were undutifulnesse beyond inhumanity to take advantage of him: Let us rather make it an advantage for him, to do him best service, when he hath most need

need, not to seeke our owne good, but in him, and with them; else we shall commit the same crimes ourselves, which we must condemne in others.

His Majesty hath cleerly and freely put himself into the hands of this Parliament; and I presume, there is not a man in this House, but feeles himself advanced in this high Trust: but, if he prosper no better in our hands, than he hath done in theirs, who have hitherto had the handling of his affaires, we shall for ever make our-selves unworthy of so gracious a confidence.

I have often thought and said, "That it must be some great extremity, that would recover and rectifie this State; and when that extremity did come, it would be a great hazard, whether it might prove a remedy or ruine." We are now, Master Speaker, upon that vertical, turning-point; and therefore it is no time to palliate, to foment our owne undoing.

Let us set upon the remedy; we must, first, know the disease; But to discover the diseases of the State, is (according to some) to traduce the Government; yet others are of opinion, That this is the halfe-way to the Cure.

His Majesty is wiser then they that have advised him; and therefore he cannot but see and feele their subverting, destructive, Counsels, which speak lowder than I can speak of them; for they ring a doleful, deadly, knell, over the whole Kingdome: His Majesty best knowes who they are. For us, let the matters bolt-out the men, their actions discover them.

They are men that talk largely of the King's Service, yet have done none but their owne; and that is too evident.

They speak highly of the King's power; but they have made it a miserable power, that produceth nothing but weaknesse, both to the King and Kingdome.

They have exhausted the King's Revenue to the bottome,—nay, through the bottome, and beyond.

They have spent vast sums of money wastefully, fruitlessly, dangerously; so that more money, without other Counsels, will be but a swift undoing.

They have alwaies peremptorily pursued one obstinate, pernicious, course; first, they bring things to an extremity; then they make that extremity (of their owne making,) the reason of their next action, seven times worse than the former; and there we are at this instant.

They have almost spoiled the best-instituted Government in the world, for Sovereignty in a King, and Liberty to the Subject; the proportionable temper of both which, makes the happiest State for power, for riches, for duration.

They have, unmannerly and slubbringly, cast all their projects, all their
machinations,

machinations, upon the King; which no wise, or good, Minister of State ever did, but would still take all harsh, distastefull, things upon themselves, to cleare, to sweeten, their Master.

They have not suffered His Majesty to appeare unto his people in his owne native goodnesse.

They have eclipsed him by their interpositions. Although grosse, condense, bodies may obscure and hinder the Sun from shining-out, yet he is still the same in his owne splendour. And, when those bodies are removed, all creatures under him are directed by his light, and comforted by his Beames.

But they have framed a superstitious, seeming, Maxime of State for their owne turne, That, if a King will suffer men to be torne from him, he shall never have any good service done him. When the plaine truth is, That this is the surest way to preserve a King from having ill servants about him; and the Divine truth likewise is, Take-away the wicked from the King, and his Throne shall be established.

Master Speaker: Now we see what the sores are in general; and, when more particulars shall appeare, let us be very careful to draw-out the cores of them, not to skin them over with a slight, suppurating, festering, cure, least they breake-out againe into a greater mischiefe: Consider of it, consult, and speake your minds.

It hath heretofore been boasted, That the King should never call a Parliament, till he had no need of his people. These were words of division, and Malignity. For the King must alwaies, according to his occasions, have use of the people's power, hearts, hands and purses; and the people will alwaies have need of the King's Clemency, Justice, and Protection: And this reciprocation is the strongest, the sweetest, union.

It hath been said too of late, That a Parliament will take-away more from the King, than they will give him. It may well be said, That those things which will fall-away of themselves, will enable the Subject to give him more than can be taken any way else. Projects and Monopolies are but leaking Conduit-Pipes; The Exchequer itselfe, at the fullest, is but a Cisterne; and now a broken one: Frequent Parliaments onely are the fountaines; and I do not doubt, but in this Parliament, as we shall be free in our advices, so shall we be the more free of our purses, that His Majesty may experimentally finde the real difference of better Counsels, the true, solid, grounds of raising and establishing his Greatnesse, never to be brought againe (by God's blessing) to such dangerous, such desperate, perplexities.

Master Speaker: I confesse I have now gone in a way much against my nature, and somewhat against my custome heretofore used in this place.

But

But the deplorable, dismal, condition, both of Church and State, hath so farre wrought upon my judgement, as it hath convinced my disposition; yet am I not vir sanguinum; I love no man's ruine: I thank God I neither hate anyman's person, nor envy anyman's fortune; onely I am zealous for a thorow Reformation, in a time that exacts, that extorts, it. Which, I humbly beseech this House, may be done with as much lenity, as much moderation, as the publike safety of the King and Kingdom can possibly admit.

In so great a concurrence of businesse, and weighty affaires, concerning the safety, and the very being, of three Kingdomes, as farre as the Parliament had leisure to consider and redresse the damages, or other injuries, of particular persons; Their first care was to vindicate distressed Ministers, who had been imprisoned, or deprived, by the Bishops, and all others who, in the Cause of Religion, had been persecuted by them: Many of those Ministers, within few weeks after the beginning of the Parliament, were released from durance, and restored to their Charges, with damages from their oppressours; Many Doctors and other Divines, that had been most busie in promoting the late Church-innovations about Altars and other Ceremonies, and therefore most gracious and flourishing in the State, were then questioned and committed; insomuch as the change, and the suddenesse of it, seemed wonderful to men, and may worthily serve as a document to all posterity,

Quam fragili loco starent superbi,

In what fraile places stand the proudest men.

Among divers others of this Kinde, and the most remarkable of all, was that reliefe which the Parliament, immediately upon their first sitting, gave to three persecuted Gentlemen, Doctor BASTWICK, a Physitian, Master PRYNNE, a Lawyer, and Master BURTON, a Minister. The Parliament gives relief to Dr. Bastwick, Mr. Prynne, and Mr. Burton.

The whole passage of whose Story we will here insert in one continued discourse, that it may not hereafter interrupt any other Relations of businesse.

These three men, for the same offence, or very little differing in substance, (as those that read their extant Bookes may perceive) not being able to containe themselves in such a cause, had written against the manner of English Episcopacy, and those inconveniences, or extravagancies, which, as they conceived, flowed from it, to the prejudice of Purity in Religion; For which offence they were all three heavily censured in the High-Commission Court, at several times, and committed to several Prisons, where they long remained in durance, till afterward their cause was brought into the Starre-Chamber, where they received a sad doome; and the same day stood all three upon Pillories in Westminster Palace-yard, where there eares were likewise cut-off*.

It

* On the 30th day of June, 1637. The Lords, or Members of the Court of Starr-Chamber, who were principally concerned in passing this cruel sentence, were Sir Thomas Coventry, the Lord Keeper

It seemed, I remember, to many Gentlemen (and was accordingly discoursed-of) a spectacle no lesse strange than sad, to see three of several Professions, the noblest in the Kingdome, Divinity, Law, and Physick, exposed at one time to such an ignominious punishment, and condemned to it by Protestant Magistrates, for such Tenents in Religion, as the greatest part of Protestants in *England* held, and all the Reformed Churches in *Europe* maintained.

But the Court of Starre-Chamber seemed to take cognizance onely of their unlawful publishing those Tenents, and disobedience to the Authority then in being.

This was but the beginning of their punishment; they were afterward banished to remote places of the Kingdom, and there kept in close and solitary confinement, not allowed pen and paper, nor the sight of any friends, no not so much (for two of them were married) as of their owne wives. Their imprisonments, at several removes, were in the Castles of *Lanceston*, *Lancaster*, *Carnarvon*, and the Isles of *Scylly*, *Garnsey*, and *Jersey*.

They return to London with great publick acclamations, on the 28th of November, 1640.

These three, within five daies after the Parliament began to sit, were sent-for home from their banishment; and accordingly Master PRYNNE, and Master BURTON, upon the 28th of *November* came into *London*, (Doctor BASTWICK within few daies after, in the same manner) being met upon the way, some few miles from *London*, and brought into the City by five thousand persons, both men and women, on horseback, who, all of them, wore in their hats Rosemary and Bayes, in token of Joy and Triumph.

The discourses of men upon this action, were very different: some both of the Clergy, of the Court, and other Gentlemen besides, did not conceale their dislike of it, affirming that it was a bold and tumultuous affront to Courts of Justice, and the King's Authority: Others, who pitied the former sufferings of those men, and they that wished Reformation in matters of Justice, were pleased with it; hoping that it would worke good effects in the King's minde, and make him sensible how his people stood disaffected to the rigour of such proceedings; and esteemed it as a good presage of the ruine of those two Courts, the High Commission, and the Star-Chamber: Which proved true within halfe a yeare after.

How it wrought at that present upon the King, is not knowne. But actions of that nature, where the people, of their owne accords, in a seeming tumultuous manner, do expresse their liking or dislike of matters in Government, cannot have alwaies the same successe, but worke, according to the disposition of the Prince or Governour, either to a sense causing Reformation, or to an hatred of them as upbraiders of his actions; *aut corrigunt, aut irritant*.

Within a moneth after, the businesse of these three men was, by Order of the Parliament, referred to Committees to examine and report.

Upon which reports, not two Moneths after, it was voted by the House of

Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Cottington, and Sir John Finch, who was, at that time, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. See the Selection from the Harleian Miscellany, in one volume, quarto, printed for Kearsley, bookseller, in Fleet-Street, Number 46, in the year, 1793, in pages 314, 315, 316, &c.—324 of the said Volume.

Commons,

Commons, That those Judgements so given against them (but severally for every one of the three) were illegal, unjust, and against the liberty of the Subject; and, within a moneth after, voted that they should receive damages for their great sufferings; and that satisfaction should be made them in money, to be paid by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the High-Commissioners, and those Lords who had voted against them in the Star-Chamber; That they should be againe restored to their callings, and receive Master BURTON 6000*l.* and Master PRYNNE 5000 *l.* Doctor BASTWICK, in a vote by himself, was given the like summe.

As these were comforted after their sufferings, so other Divines (for the beginning of this Parliament seemed a little Doomesday,) after a short pleasure, were brought to their torment. Proceedings against scandalous clergymen.

A Committee was made to enquire of scandalous Ministers; which appeared in two kindes (and were accordingly censured) either loose livers, and men of a debauched behaviour, (for many such were gotten into good preferments, and countenanced to affront the Puritans;) or else offendours in way of Superstition; of the former sort many were in a short time accused, by degrees censured, and turned-out of their livings: Of the latter sort there was no small number of offendors; nor in likelihood could that (which had beene the way to all high preferments) want walkers in it.

Among all the men of his ranke, Dr. COOSENS, Master of Saint *Peter's* College in *Cambridge*, was most noted for superstitious and curious observations in many kindes; a man not noted for any great depth of learning, nor yet scandalous for ill-living, but onely forward to shew himselfe in formalities and outward Ceremonies concerning Religion, many of which were such as a Protestant State might not well suffer. Dr. Coosens.

This man was questioned upon many Articles; some by himselfe; some, where other Divines were joyned with him; imprisoned he was, and afterwards bailed; and, though deprived of some preferments, yet escaped without any great punishment, and was one of them, in that crowd of offendors, who might rejoyce that the Parliament had so much businesse.

But greater Clergymen than Doctor COOSENS were then to come upon the Stage; Bishop WRENNE, a man guilty of the same crime in Superstition, that COOSENS was, as farre as concerned his owne person, but farre more guilty as a Magistrate, and able to impose it upon others, was upon the 19th of *December* accused of Treason, and entred into a recognizance of 30,000*l.* to appeare, with three sureties engaged, each of them, in bonds of 10,000 *l.* Dr. Wrenne, Bishop of Norwich.

This WRENNE, being Bishop of *Norwich*, a Diocese in which there were as many strict Professors of Religion (commonly called *Puritans*) as in any part of *England*, had there violently pressed superstitious Ceremonies, or such as they conceived so, upon them, put-downe accustomed Lectures, and deprived many Ministers much beloved and revered among them. By which rigour he grew, accidentally, guilty of a wonderful crime against the wealth and prosperity of the State.

For

For many Tradesmen (with whom those parts abounded) were so afflicted and troubled with his Ecclesiastical censures and vexations, that, in great numbers, to avoid misery, they departed the Kingdome; some into *New England*, and other parts of *America*; and others into *Holland*, whither they transported their Manufactures of Cloth; [which was] not onely a losse by diminishing the present stock of the Kingdome, but a great mischief by impairing and endangering the losse of that peculiar Trade of Clothing, which hath been a plentiful fountaine of Wealth and Honour to the Kingdome of *England*, as it was expressed in the Parliament-Remonstrance. But more particular crimes were laid against the Bishop, which there may be occasion to discourse of hereafter, in the proceedings against him.

Dr. William Laud,
Archbishop of Can-
terbury, Dec. 18,
1640.

The day before Bishop WRENNE was accused, being the 18th of *December*, a greater man, both in Church and State, WILLIAM LAUD, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was voted in the House of Commons guilty of High Treason; Master DENZILL HOLLIS, a Member of that House, was sent-up to the Lords, to appeach him there; upon which he was sequestred, and confined to the Black Rod. He was also charged by the Scottish Commissioners, together with the Earle of *Strafford*, as a chiefe Incendiary in the late Warre betweene both Nations; and divers Articles laid against him; which to examine and discusse further, a Committee was appointed.

He is impeached of
High Treason, Feb.
23, 1640-1.

Upon the 23d of *February*, Master PYMME made report to the House of Commons, what hainous and capital crimes were objected against him: Upon which the House fell into a serious debate, and a Charge of High Treason in fourteene Articles was drawne-up against him; which Charge two daies after was sent from the House of Commons by Master PYMME up to the Lords.

The Archbishop was that day brought before the Lords, to heare that Charge read; and it was there voted, That he should immediately be sent to the Tower; but, upon his earnest suit, for some special reasons, he was two daies longer suffered to abide under the Black Rod, and then accordingly sent to the Tower; where we will leave him, till the course of this Narration bring him to further trial upon those Articles.

Dr. Wrenne Bishop
of Norwich.

Civil offenders, as well as Ecclesiastical, must needs be many, in so long a corruption of Government; of whom one, as he was first in time, and soone left the Stage, besides his chiefe Crime concerning matters of Church and Religion, so he shall first be named.

Sir Francis Winde-
banke is accused of
illegally discharging
Popish priests from
prison. November
12, 1640.

Sir FRANCIS WINDEBANKE, Principal Secretary of Estate, a great Favourite and friend to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by his friendship, as was thought, advanced to that place of Honour, was, upon the 12th of *November*, questioned in an high kinde concerning Popish Priests; of whom, in that seven or eight yeares that he had been Secretary, he had bailed a great number, and released many by his power, contrary to the Lawes made, and then in force, against them; which being examined by a Committee, and certaine to prove foule against him, as it did afterward; (for upon examination there were proved against him 74 Letters of grace to Recusants, within foure yeares, signed with his owne hand; 64 Priests discharged from

from the Gate-House, 29 discharged by a verbal Warrant from him;) he thought it his best course, before trial, to fly the Land; so that, upon the fourth of *December*, newes was brought to the House, that Secretary WINDEBANKE, with Master READ, his chiefe Clarke, was fled; and soone after, notice was given that he arrived in *France*, where he long continued.

He flies to France in December, 1640.

About that time came the great businesse of Ship-Money into debate in Parliament; and was voted by both Houses to be a most illegal Taxation, and unsufferable grievance; in reference to which case, almost all the Judges were made Delinquents, for their extrajudicial opinions in it, as more particularly will afterward appeare. As for other petty grievances, (such as were the multitude of Monopolies upon all things and Commodities of greatest and most familiar use;) the House daily condemned them; and the Delinquents of meaner note in that kinde who were examined and censured, were too many to be here named: Nay, so impartial was the House of Commons in that case, that many of their owne Members, who had been guilty of such Monopolies, were daily turned-out of the House for that offence.

A Debate upon Ship-money, December, 1640.

But the businesse of Ship-money did reflect with a deeper staine of guilt upon the then Lord Keeper FINCH, than upon any of the other Judges whatsoever, for his great activity and labouring in it, by threats and promises working upon the other Judges, as we finde alledged against him.

Sir John Finch, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

Sir JOHN FINCH, in the yeare 1636, when that Taxation of Ship-money was first plotted and set on foot, was newly made Lord Chiefe-Justice of the Common Pleas, a man in favour with the King, and many of the greatest Lords in Court, having before been the Queenes Attorney; a Gentleman of good birth, of an high and Imperious spirit, eloquent in speech, though in the knowledge of the Law not very deepe.

Upon the death of the Lord Keeper COVENTRY, about *December*, 1639, the King was pleased to conferre that high Trust of keeping the Great Seale upon him; which Office at this time he held.

Upon the seventh of *December*, when Ship-money was fully debated, and absolutely damned by the House of Commons, and the offence of the Judges began to be scanned, sixteene Gentlemen of that House were chosen to examine those Judges, that had given their extrajudicial opinions for it (for three gave their opinions otherwise: The arguments of two of them, Judge CROOKE, and Judge HUTTON, were very famous; Baron DENHAM, who was the third, by reason of sicknesse, could not declare his opinion in so large a manner;) in order to discover what threats, or promises, had been used to them, and by what persons.

Upon which examination, and further light given, the next day a Committee was named to draw-up Charges against the Judges, and against the Lord FINCH, then Lord Keeper, a Charge of High Treason. He, not many daies after, became an humble Suitor to the House of Commons, That before the Charge of High Treason were delivered against him, they would be pleased to heare him, *Ore Tenus*, in their owne House.

He flies to Holland
on the 23d of De-
cember, 1640.

His suit was granted ; and the next day save one, in a long Oration, he endeavoured to cleare himselfe ; but all in vaine was that endeavour ; though his deportment were very humble and submissive, and his Speech full of perswasive Rhetorick, it could not prevaile to divert the Judgement, though many in the House were moved to a kinde of Compassion.

He, either secretly informed by friends, or himselfe perceiving by evident signes, how things were likely to go with him, conceived it best to use a timely prevention, and the next day, disguised, fled, and soon crossed the Seas into *Holland*.

After his flight, he was voted by the House of Commons guilty of High Treason for foure causes :

1. Disobeying the House, in refusal to speake at their command, when he was Speaker in Parliament, in the fourth yeare of King CHARLES.
2. For threatening some Judges in the matter of Ship-money.
3. For his illegal and cruel Judgements in the Forrest-busnesse, when he was Lord Chiefe-Justice of the Common Pleas.
4. For drawing that injurious Declaration after dissolution of the last Parliament.

Upon which a Charge was drawne-up against him, and carried-up to the Lords upon the 14th of *January*, 1640-41, three weeks after his flight, by the Lord FAWKELAND ; who presented it with a pithy and sharpe Oration against the man.

These two last Delinquents (though men of eminent place in the Commonwealth) as they did not long trouble the Parliament, nor much retard the progresse of publike busnesse, preventing their Trials by timely flight, so can they take-up no large roome in this Historical Narration.

CHAP. VIII.

The Tryal and death of the Earle of Strafford. Conspiracies detected during the agitation of it. An Act for continuance of this present Parliament. With a mention of that Grant of the Triennial Parliament in February before.

BUT now a greater Actor is brought upon the Stage, THOMAS WENTWORTH, Earle of *Strafford*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, a man too great to be let escape; no sooner accused but surprized, and secured for a Tryal.

Which Tryal of his, if we consider all things,—the high nature of the Charge against him; the pompous circumstances, and stately manner of the Trial itself; the time that it lasted; the pretiousnesse of that time so consumed; and, lastly, of what moment and consequence the successe of it must prove,—I may safely say, that no Subject in *England*, and probably in *Europe*, ever had the like.

So great it was, that we can hardly call it the Trial of the Earle of *Strafford* onely; the King's affections toward his People and Parliament, the future successe of this Parliament, and the hopes of three Kingdoms depending on it, were all tryed, when *Strafford* was arraigned.

Many Subjects in *Europe* have played lowder parts upon the Theater of the world, but none left it with greater noise; nor was the matter of his accusation confined within one Realme; three whole Kingdoms were his Accusers, and eagerly sought, in one death, a recompence of all their sufferings: That we may say of his case, as CLAUDIAN says of RUFFINUS,

Offensis Ruffinum divide terris.

Within ten daies after the Parliament began, the Earle of *Strafford*, newly-
returned from the North, was sitting in the House of Lords; when Master PYMME, The Earl of Strafford is impeached by the House of Commons an of High Treason.

an ancient Gentleman of great experience in Parliamentary affaires, and no lesse knowne fidelity to his Country, came-up to the Lords, and, in the name of all the Commons of *England*, accused THOMAS, Earle of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, of High Treason; and desired their Lordships that he might be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to Prison; as also to let them know, that the Commons, within very few daies, would resort to their Lordships with the particular Articles and grounds of this Accusation.

And is taken into custody on the 13th of November, 1640.

The Earle was required to withdraw; and after a debate thereof, called-in, was committed to safe custody to the Gentleman Usher; And immediately after, upon the 13th day of *November*, a Serjeant at Armes was sent into *Ireland* for Sir GEORGE RATLIFFE, a great Favourite of the Earles, and one that, under him, had beene very active in the oppression of *Ireland*; a man of subtle wit, and knowledge of the Law; as having before beene educated at the Innes of Court, and taken the degree of Barrister.

And sent to the Tower on the 8th of December, 1640.

Sir GEORGE accordingly, upon the fourth of *December*, came-in and yeelded himselfe to the Speaker; from whence he was committed to custody. And, foure daies after, the Lords of Parliament sent the Earle of *Strafford* to the Tower, with a strict command to the Lieutenant, that he should keepe a close guard upon him.

Much time was interposed betweene the several proceedings against this Earle of *Strafford*, by reason of the multiplicity of weighty businesse which the Parliament then had. But before the end of *January*, a long Charge was read against him in the House of Commons, and a Message, not long after, sent to the Lords, to desire that he might be sequestred from all his places of Dignity and Honour, in *England* and *Ireland*.

The charge against him, January 31, 1640-1.

The Charge against him consisted of nine Articles, which, afterwards upon a further impeachment, were extended to eight-and-twenty. All those Articles are to be seene at large in the Records: But, for further satisfaction of the Reader, I will give a brieft touch of the scope of them. The first and second being much alike, concerning his ruling of *Ireland*, and those parts of *England*, where his Authority lay, in an Arbitrary way, against the fundamental Lawes of the Kingdome, which Lawes he had endeavoured to subvert. Thirdly, his retaining part of the King's Revenue, without giving a legal account. Fourthly, The abusing of his Power, to the increase and encouragement of Papists. Fifthly, That he maliciously had endeavoured to stir-up Hostility betweene *England* and *Scotland*. Sixthly, That, being Lieutenant-General of the Northerne Army, he had wilfully suffered the Scots to defeat the English at *Newburne*, and take *Newcastle*; that by such a losse and dishonour, *England* might be engaged in a National and irreconcilable quarrel with the Scots. Seventhly, That to preserve himselfe from questioning, he had laboured to subvert Parliaments, and incense the King against them. Eighthly, and lastly, That these things were done during the time of his Authority as Deputy of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant-General of the Northerne Armies in *England*.

The

The Commons, saving to themselves a liberty of further impeachment against the said Earle, &c. do require his legal answer to all.

The further impeachment, consisting of 28 Articles, was, for the most part, branched out of these, and insisted upon in more particulars, concerning his Tyranny, in *Ireland*, over divers persons, contrary to Law. Concerning which the Reader must be referred to the Records themselves, as being too large to be here inserted.

The Earle of *Strafford*, upon the 28d of *February*, was brought before the Lords, to give-in his answer; which he accordingly did; the King himselfe being there present to heare it read. The Earle gives-in his answer. February 28, 1640-1.

It was very large; and, when it was done, he was sent-back to the Tower, there to remaine till further Order.

A Committee being appointed to consider of that businesse, upon the fourth of *March* following made report in the House, That they would manage and maintaine their Accusation of Treason against him; and thought it not fit to reply to his Answer, but call him to speedy trial.

Immediately upon which, a Conference was had with the Lords concerning that Trial, and some Circumstances which were thought fit to be used at it.

The Commissioners of *Scotland* had likewise a Charge against the Earle of *Strafford*; concerning those injuries, which, as they conceived, their Nation and Kingdome had suffered from him. But the substance of that Charge was implied in those Articles before-specified, which the Parliament of *England* had exhibited against him.

Upon the 22d of *March*, 1640. [1640—1.] that remarkable Tryal of the Earle of STRAFFORD began. His trial begins. March 22, 1640-1.

Westminster-Hall was the place chosen, where Scaffolds were raised on both sides, nine degrees in height; whereof seven were appointed for the Members of the House of Commons to sit-on, who were all there in a Committee: The two upper degrees of the Scaffold, were appointed for the Commissioners of *Scotland*, and the Lords of *Ireland*, who were then come-over.

In the midst, on a lower ascent, sate the Peeres of *England*, the Earle of *Arundel* being Lord High Steward, and the Earle of *Lindsey* Lord High Constable. The Throne was placed for the King: But the King, coming thither (which he did every day of the Tryal) sate private with the Queene and other Ladies, in a close Gallery, made of purpose to heare the proceedings, and tooke notes of them himselfe, in writing.

The Earle of *Strafford* answered daily at the Barre, whilst the whole House of Commons, having put themselves into a Committee, had liberty to charge him, every man as he saw occasion: But, though many of them did sometimes speake, yet the accusations were chiefly managed by two expert Lawyers, Master GLYNNE, and Master MAYNARD, both Members of the House.

Many foule misdemeanours, committed both in *Ireland* and *England*, were daily proved against him: But that ward which the Earle, being an eloquent man, His principal ground especially of Defence.

especially lay-at, was to keepe-off the blow of High Treason, whatsoever misdemeanours should be layed upon him ; of which, some he denied, others he excused, and extenuated with great subtilty ; contending to make one thing good, " That misdemeanours, though never so many and so great, could not, by being put-together, make one Treason, unlesse some one of them had been Treason in its owne nature."

Every day the first weeke, from Munday to Saturday, without intermission, the Earle was brought from the Tower to *Westminster-Hall*, and arraigned many houres together ; and the successe of every daies tryal, was the greatest discourse, or dispute, in all companies.

For by this time the people began to be a little divided in opinions ; The Clergy in general were so much fallen into love and admiration of this Earle, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was almost quite forgotten by them.

The Courtiers cryed him up, and the Ladies, (whose voices will carry much with some parts of the State,) were exceedingly on his side.

It seemed a very pleasant object, to see so many Sempronias (all the chiefe Court-Ladies filling the Galleries at the Tryal) with penne, inke, and paper in their hands, noting the passages, and discoursing upon the grounds of Law and State. They were all of his side ; whether moved by pity, proper to their Sex, or by ambition of being thought able to judge of the parts of the Prisoner.

But so great was the favour, and love, which they openly expressed to him, that some could not but thinke of that Verse :

*Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses,
Et tamen æquoreas torsit amore Deas.*

*Ulysses, though not beautiful, the love
Of Goddesses by eloquence could move.*

But his Trial in this manner lasted, with few daies intermission, from the 22d of *March*, till the midst of *April* following, the Earle having personally answered fiftene daies.

The House of Commons abandon their prosecution by Impeachment, and proceed against the Earl by Bill of Attainder, April 21, 1641.

After all this long Trial, the House of Commons fell into debate about a Bill of Attainder against the Earle of *Strafford* ; and voted him guilty of high Treason in divers particulars of that Accusation, in which they had proceeded against him ; and in more particular he was voted guilty of High Treason, for his opinion given before the King, at a secret Council, which was discovered by some notes of Sir HENRY VANE, who was also a Privy-Counciller, and present at that time ; in which notes it was found that the Earle of *Strafford* had said to the King, *That he had an Army in Ireland, which his Majesty might employ to reduce this Kingdome to obedience.*

These notes Sir HENRY VANE, eldest Sonne to the before-named Sir HENRY, had found (as he alledged to the House) in his Father's Cabinet, and produced before the House without his Father's knowledge ; who seemed extreme angry with his Sonne for it.

This

This is related the more at large, because it was the first occasion (that was open and visible) whereby so eminent a Member, as the Lord GEORGE DIGBY, was lost from the House of Commons, as will afterward appeare: For that Vote was opposed by the Lord DIGBY, and some others.

This Bill is opposed by Lord Digby, and several other members of the House of Commons; in all, fifty-nine members.

Neverthelesse a Committee was appointed to draw-up the Bill of Attainder, which was accordingly done, and read in the House of Commons, on the 21st day of *April*, when the Earle was againe voted guilty of High Treason; which was carried by farre the greater part; for on the other side, were but nine and fifty, of whom the Lord DIGBY was one; who made to that purpose a very elegant, though much displeasing, Speech in the House; Of which more hereafter.

That Bill of Attainder was sent-up to the Lords; where, after the reading of it, a great division was in that House, and many of the Lords much opposed it.

But Master St. JOHN, the King's Solicitour, and a Member of the House of Commons, was appointed within few daies after, to make good the Bill by Law, and give the Lords satisfaction, which was accordingly done upon the 29th of *April*, in *Westminster-Hall*; where the Earle of *Strafford* was present at the Barre, and the King and Queene seated in their usual places.

Master St. JOHN opened the Branches of the Bill, and in a Discourse of two houres made it good by preceedent Statutes, and the like, to the satisfaction of almost all that heard him. It is passed by the House of Lords.

But the King was not satisfied in conscience, (as he declared to both Houses, two daies after,) to condemne him of High Treason; and told them, No feares, or respects whatsoever, should make him alter that resolution, founded upon his conscience: But confessed, that his misdemeanors were so great, that he held him unfit to serve him in any office whatsoever; with other expressions of that kinde. The King refuses to consent to it.

The King's Speech was somewhat displeasing to the Houses; but the City were out of patience, and within foure daies after, came to *Westminster*, about five thousand of them, crying for Justice against the Earle of *Strafford*; and following the Lords, complaining that they were undone, and trading decayed, for want of due execution of Justice.

The Lords gave them good words, and promised them to acquaint the King with it. But the next day they appeared againe with the same complaint. Their feares being more aggravated, by reason of reports, that attempts were made to get the Earle out of Prison; upon which occasion some Lords were sent to keepe the Tower, and assist the Lieutenant there.

But the King was hard to be removed from his resolution, although the Judges in the meane time had delivered their opinions in the House of Lords, concerning the Earle of *Strafford*; and the Lords had voted him guilty of High Treason upon the fifteenth Article, for levying of money in *Ireland* by force of Armes; and upon the nineteenth, for imposing an Oath upon the Subjects in *Ireland*, That they should not protest against any of the King's Commands.

The King at last, wearied with these complaints, called a Privy-Council at *White-Hall*, where he spent a great part of the day, calling also the Judges to deliver their opinions before him, concerning the Earle of *Strafford*; and sent for foure But afterwards consents to it.

The Earle is be-headed on the 12th of May, 1641.

But his Execution gives rise to great divisions in Parliament.

four Bishops, to resolve him upon scruple of conscience. After which he granted a Commission to the Earle of *Arundel*, the Lord Privy-Seale, and the two Lord-Chamberlaines, to signe that bill for the execution of the Earle of *Strafford*, three daies after, being Wednesday, the 12th of *May*, 1641; which was accordingly done upon the Scaffold on Tower-Hill.

This was the unfortunate end of that Earle of *Strafford*, whose character and actions have been in some manner before described.

Of whom we may truly say, That, as his life and Counsels had been of great moment and concernment in the State before, so did his death and Tryal, by unhappy accidents, prove to be.

The divisions and disturbances which his life could make, were not greater than those that his death occasioned.

APPIANUS observes of SYLLA the Dictator, That, as his living power had rob'd the Roman Senate of their freedome; so did his very Funeral: Where so many of his old Souldiers and Hacsters followed the solemnity, that the Senators who were present, durst not with freedome expresse their thoughts of him; but were inforced to flatter him dead, as well as living.

How farre the Earle of *Strafford* did, in his life-time, divide the King's affections from his People and Parliaments (which was part of the Charge against him) I cannot surely tell; But certaine it is, That his Tryal and death (which has made me insist the longer upon it) did make such a division in that kinde, as, being unhappily nourished by degrees afterward, has almost ruined the three Kingdomes*.

The length of his Tryal, whilst two Armies at an heavy expence were to be paid, and other businesse at a great stand, did divide some impatient people (at least in some degree) from the Parliament; The manner of his condemnation divided the Parliament in itselfe; and the eager pressing of his death did discover, or cause, a sad division of the King from his Parliament.

Nine and fifty Members of the House of Commons dissented in Vote from the rest, upon the Bill of Attainder: upon which some indiscreet persons (for so I must needs esteeme them, though it was never knowne who they were, or by whose notice it was done) the next day set-up a paper upon the Exchange, with the names of those nine and fifty, and a Title over it, *The names of those men, who, to save a Traytor, would betray their Country.*

They that were thus posted-up, supposing it to be done, or caused, by some of their House, were much provoked at it, many of them growing by degrees disaffected to the Parliament, (not all, for there were among those dissenting Gentlemen very wise and learned men) and, upon that unhappy distraction that fell-out about a yeere after, forsooke the Parliament.

Upon the same Bill of Attainder, the Lord DIGBY made his foresaid Speech, which, by a Command from the House (for he had printed it) was to be burnt by the Hangman; which was the visible cause of his deserting the Parliament, and proving so great an Actor against it as shall hereafter be declared.

* This was written in the year 1647.

The worst consequence of all was, that the King's heart did upon this occasion appeare to be quite alienated from the Parliament.

For, to prevent the Earle of *Strafford's* death, an escape for him out of the Tower was contrived. To further which, and to curbe the Parliament in other things by force of Armes, a great conspiracy was entred-into by many Gentlemen of rank and quality. The designe of this conspiracy had many Branches, as shall appeare in the Narration.

A Conspiracy had been formed against the Parliament, in order to save the Earle of *Strafford's* life.

The persons of chiefest note in it, were Master HENRY PERCY, brother to the Earle of *Northumberland*; Master HENRY JERMIN, the great Favourite of the Queene, to whom he was Master of the Horse; Master GORING, eldest Sonne to the Lord GORING; Master WILMOT, eldest Sonne to the Lord WILMOT; Colonel ASHBURNHAM; Captaine POLLARD; Sir JOHN SUCKLING; ONEALE, an Irish man and a Papist; with divers others of a more inferiour ranke, such as were privy but to some part of the designe: For it seemes their Counsels were divided, and they were not all guilty of the same things; as by their several examinations upon Oath appeared.

But that which grieved the hearts of honest men, and made them almost despaire of that happinesse which was before hoped-for by this Parliament, was, That they discovered the King himself to be privy to this conspiracy against them; which was plainly testified by Colonel *Goring's* examination; as likewise by a Letter written by Master PERCY to his Brother the Earle of *Northumberland*; where he names the King's discourses with him, and the desire which the King had to joyne such as he thought fit with them.

The King himself was privy to this conspiracy.

The Conspirators had taken an Oath of secrecy among themselves.

The Report made in Parliament from Committees after the Examination of several Gentlemen, concerning this conspiracy, discovered many branches of their designe.

One was concerning the Tower of *London*, That Souldiers should have been put into it. For Sir JOHN SUCKLING, and some others of the Conspirators, under pretence of raising Forces for the *Portugal*, had gathered men in *London*, who were to possesse themselves of the Tower.

The Lieutenant, Sir WILLIAM BALFORE, was commanded by the King himselfe to admit those Souldiers into the Tower. But he, perceiving that it was a Plot to let the Earle of *Strafford* escape, disobeyed that Command of the King's; as appeared by his Examination.

In which is likewise specified, that the Earle offered 2000*l.* in Marriage with his daughter to the Lieutenant's Sonne, if he would consent to the Earles escape.

Another branch, and that the chiefe of this designe, was to bring-up the English Army, which was in the North, as yet undisbanded, and to engage it against the Parliament, to awe the Houses in divers things concerning the King's Prerogative, and maintaining Episcopacy, as Master PERCY signified in the fore-mentioned Letter.

To joyne with these Forces, and strengthen the Plot, a French Army was to be landed at *Portsmouth*, and that Towne, for the same purpose, was to be put into Master JERMIN's hands.

The Irish Army, consisting of eight thousand, almost all Papists, when the Earle of *Strafford* had escaped out of the Tower, was to be brought-over under his conduct, and engaged in the same Service.

All these things were confessed upon several Examinations.

The Parliament were most grieved to finde the King so farre in it; and then recalled to minde, how His Majesty, on the 28th of *April* before, had told the Houses, That he could not allow of the disbanding of the Irish Army, for divers reasons best knowne to himselfe.

The Conspiracy being in some part detected, PERCY, JERMYN, and SUCKLING, fled the day before they should have been examined, being the sixth of *May*, and passed into *France*, where SUCKLING not long after dyed.

But afterwards, upon the reading of a Letter in the House upon the 14th of *June*, sent by Master PERCY out of *France* to his Brother the Earle of *Northumberland*, WILMOT, ASHBURNHAM, and POLLARD, (three Members of the House of Commons, mentioned in that Letter, as privy to this Conspiracy) were commanded to withdraw, and then called-in severally, examined, and committed, WILMOT to the Tower, ASHBURNHAM to the King's Bench, and POLLARD to the *Gate-House*; from whence they were not long after released upon Baile, as being found guilty not in so high a degree as others were.

GORING, upon his Examination, dealt so cleerly with them, and so farre purged himselfe from evil intentions, that he was not at all committed by the Parliament.

ONEALE, who proved most guilty of that part of the Conspiracy, for bringing-up the English Army against the Parliament, was presently after apprehended, and committed to the Tower; whence it was generally thought he would be brought to Tryal for his life, and suffer; but he made an escape.

The Parliament, considering what great disturbance they began to finde in settling the State, what conspiracies had been on foot; and doubtful of the King's sincere affection towards them; considering also what great disbursements of money were to be made for payment of two Armies, and other charges for settling the State, to which purpose money was to be borrowed upon the Publike faith; by a joint consent of both Houses, moved the King to signe a Bill for continuance of this present Parliament, That it should never be dissolved till both Houses did consent, and agree that publike grievances were fully redrest.

The King passes a bill for the continuance of the present Parliament, May 10, 1640.

He had before passed a bill, for Triennial Parliaments, on the 15th of February, 1640-41.

A Bill was drawne-up to that purpose, and the King, the same day that he signed the Bill for execution of the Earle of *Strafford*, being the 10th of *May*, 1641, signed that also for continuance of the present Parliament.

But in this place it is fit to insert what had past before in this kinde.

The King upon the 15th of *February* before, had signed a Bill, presented to him

him by both Houses, for a Parliament to be held in *England* every third yeare; That the Lord Keeper, and the Chancellor of the Dutchy, for the time being, should be sworne to issue-forth the Writs, and, upon default, to lose their places.

The same day in the afternoone there was a Conference betweene the two Houses, to returne the King thanks; upon which it was concluded that the whole House should go to the King to *White-Hall*, and that the Lord Keeper, in the name of both Houses, should returne their thankfulness to his Majesty; which was accordingly done.

Expressions of joy, by Order from the Parliament, were that night made about *London*, with ringing of Bells, making of Bonfires, with such usual things.

It is observable in the course of Histories, how much Kings, in such limited Monarchies as that of *England*, do, in time, by degrees, gaine upon the peoples Rights and Priviledges: So that those things, which, by the constitution of the Government, the people may challenge as due from the Prince, having been long forborne, become at last to be esteemed such Acts of extraordinary grace, as that the Prince is highly thanked for granting of them.

N. B.

Such was the case of this Triennial Parliament, as both Houses afterward, when the unhappy division began, and the King upbraided them with this favour, could plainly answer, "That it was not so much as by Law they might require, there being two Statutes then in force, for a Parliament once a yeere."

The King himselfe also, at the time when he granted that Triennial Parliament, could not forbear to tell them, That he put an obligation upon them in doing it, which they had scarce deserved.

For hitherto (said he) to speak freely, I have had no great encouragement to grant it; if I should looke to the outward face of your actions or proceedings, and not to the inward intentions of your hearts, I might make question of doing it

But that Grant which the King since passed, upon the tenth of *May*, for continuance of the present Parliament, not onely afterward by himselfe was much upbraided to them, but by many Gentlemen, who were not well affected to their Parliament, and by all the Faction of Prelatical Clergy, in their ordinary discourse, was censured as a greater grace than it was fit for the King to grant.

Reflection on the Act for the continuance of the Parliament.

To such men, their discourses and writings, afterward, when the great distraction happened, and the Warre was breaking-out, the Parliament, in many of their Declarations, answered:

That, though there were in it some seeming restraint of the Regal Power in dissolving Parliaments; yet really it was no taking that Power from the Crowne, but suspending the execution of it for this time and occasion only. Which was so necessary for the Publike Peace, that without it they could not have undertaken any of those great Charges; but must have left both the Armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole Kingdome to blood and ruine.

N. B.

For to pay the Armies, and defray other necessary charges, money was to be borrowed

borrowed upon the Publike Faith; which had been nothing worth, if that Parliament could have been dissolved at the King's pleasure.

And where it was objected, That no King ever granted the like before; they answered, It was evident, that no King before ever made so great a necessity for a Parliament to require it. And besides that, in the constitution of *Englands* Government, it was never the meaning of the Law-givers, that the King should dissolve any Parliament, whilst the great Affairs of the Kingdome were depending; and though the King had used to do so, it was neverthelesse unlawful.

The Scots in their Remonstrance 1640, told the King, That he had broken their Lawes in dissolving the Parliament there, against the consent of their House.

And it is very well understood by those that are skilful in Lawes of both Nations, that English Parliaments have originally the same freedome.

It was neverthelesse probably then thought by all, that the King would not have assented to that Act, if at that time the freshnesse of those fore-mentioned grievances in the peoples hearts, and the present discovery of that odious Treason, of bringing an Army against the Parliament, had not made it unsafe for him to deny it.

That opinion was more confirmed by the following Actions, since time, and the unconstancy of some Lords and Gentlemen, had raised him a Party. When that knot, which by Law he could not againe untie, he endeavoured to cut asunder by the Sword; as was afterwards observed in the Parliament's Declarations.

CHAP. IX.

Allowance of money from the English Parliament to the Scots. The vast Charge of disbanding the two Armies. The great Taxations for that purpose, and the manner of Poll-money. The people take a Protestation. An Act for putting-downe the High-Commission Court, and the Starre-Chamber; with other occurrences of that time. The Queene-Mother of France departeth from England. The King goeth into Scotland.

THE Parliament, conceiving themselves somewhat strengthened and secured by that Act of continuance, began to fall upon the maine businesse of the Kingdome; but their first desire was to ease themselves, of that unsupportable charge of keeping two Armies in pay. It was therefore resolved, that both the Armies should forthwith be disbanded.

The Parliament resolves that the English and Scottish armies in the North of England shall be disbanded.

The Earle of *Holland* was nominated by the King, and well-approved of by the Parliament, to go-down as General, for disbanding of the English. And for the speedy disbursement of so great a summe, which was to be raised out of the Poll-Money (of which I shall speake anon) and the six Subsidies, much Plate was appointed, with more than ordinary haste, to be melted and coyned.

The Reader will here, perchance, desire to be satisfied, by what meanes the Scottish Army, which the King, in the beginning of the Parliament, was so desirous to have driven-out of the Kingdome, and styled Rebels, should continue undisbanded till this time.

The Cessation of Armes, which was made before to expire about the end of *December* last, was at that time renewed by the Parliament for a Moneth longer; who presently after tooke it into consideration, that the Scots should be satisfied for all their charges they had been at, and losses sustained, since that unhappy Warre that the King had raised against them.

In the *February* following, after a serious debate concerning that businesse, the necessities

necessities of the Scots being well-weighed, and their demands considered, it was not onely agreed that their Ships, taken since that Warre, should be restored, and 4000 *l.* in ready money given to them to rigge those Ships; but for the maine of all, it was resolved-upon by both Houses, to give the full summe of 300,000 *l.* in these words expressed, *Towards a supply of the losses and necessities of our Brethren of Scotland*; and that the Parliament would in due time take into consideration the manner of raising it, and the daies of payment.

Whereupon the Scottish Commissioners, three daies after, returned thankfulness to the Parliament, not onely for that great summe of 300,000 *l.* but for the style of *Brethren* which they had given them.

And the same weeke, to continue and further strengthen the amity of both Nations, the Parliament of *England* Ordained that all Books, Libels, and Proclamations against the Scots, should be called-in; and a thanksgiving to God should be in all Churches thorow *England*, for the happy conclusion of that peace.

But before the time came that the Parliament, pressed with so many great and weighty Affaires, could have leisure to consider and fully determine the times for payment of that great summe to the Scots (which was not till the 19th day of the following *June*, when it was concluded, that they should receive 100,000 *l.* of it at Midsummer come twelve Moneths, and the other 200,000 *l.* at Midsummer two yeares after) the Scots presented many Papers to the House at several times, for money to supply the wants of their Army; which were friendly entertained and considered by the Parliament. For that Army was kept long undisbanded; insomuch as about the end of the following *May*, there was in Arreare due to the Scottish Army (besides the gift of 300,000 *l.*) 120,000 *l.*

So great a charge was the Parliament of *England* content to be at, rather than suffer the Scots to go, till businesses were better settled; which gave occasion to many of the Clergy, and others not well-affected to the Parliament, not onely in discourse, but also in written Libels, to taxe the Parliament, and impute it to them as a crime, of too much distrust of the King; and that they kept a forraigne Army to awe their owne Prince.

But certaine it is, that since that time, when the forenamed Conspiracies began to breake out, the Houses, not well assured of the King, nor fully trusting the English Army, were content that the Scots should not be disbanded, until the others were; being also doubtful of that Irish Army, which the King (as is before expressed,) had told them he could not disband, for some reasons best knowne to himselfe.

The Scottish army and the English army are both disbanded at the same time in August, 1641.

A Poll-tax laid for this purpose.

Nor was that Army of Scots disbanded till *August*, at the same time when the English Army was, by the Earle of *Holland*, appointed General to that purpose. And both the Armies quietly departed, conducted to their owne homes by Order from Justices of Peace, through the several Counties.

To defray so vast a charge as the payment of two great Armies, the Parliament, besides the grant of six Subsidies, imposed a Taxe seldome or never knowne, which was that of the Poll-Money, wherein the whole Kingdome were to be personally assessed. Every Duke at 100 *l.* a Marquesse at 80 *l.* Earles at 60 *l.* Viscounts and Barons

Barons at 40 *l.* Knights of the Bathe 30 *l.* other Knights 20 *l.* Esquires 10 *l.* every Gentleman dispending 100 *l.* *per annum*, was seized [or assessed] at 5 *l.* and all others of ability, to pay a competent proportion; the meanest head of the whole Kingdome was not excused under six-pence.

This Bill of Poll-Money was offered by the Houses to the King, together with two others of great concernment, one for putting-downe the High Commission Court, and the other for putting-downe the Starre-Chamber.

But the King shewed some reluctancy in that businesse, desiring to passe only that Bill of Poll-Money for the present, and to deliberate about passing of the other two. At which the House of Commons, being certified so much by the Lords, were not well contented, and voted, that his Majesty should passe all three, or none at all.

Notwithstanding, the King, upon the second of *July*, did, accordingly, passe the Poll-Money, and demurred upon the other two. But, understanding that the matter was so ill taken, and being loath, upon mature deliberation, to displease the Kingdome at that time, he came againe upon the following Tuesday, being the fifth of *July*, and passed the other two, for putting-downe the High-Commission Court and the Starre-Chamber.

The Court of High Commission, and the Court of Star-Chamber, are abolished, July 5, 1641.

Many of the Courtiers and neerest servants about the King, were very sorry that his Majesty, seeing that he passed those two Bills so soone after, had not freely done it at the same time (as was desired) together with the Poll-Money: Because it might be thought an unwillingnesse in him, and that his heart (which was then feared) did not perfectly concur with his People's desires: Whereby much of the thanks, which so great a grace, freely and forwardly expressed, might have deserved, did seeme in a manner lost.

The King, therefore, at the passing of those two Bills, told them as much, That *He could not but be sensible of those reports of discontent, which he had heard was taken by some, for his not passing them before; and thought it very strange, that two things of so great importance should be expected from him, without an allowance of time to consider of them: That he wondred they could harbour any discontent, if they remembred how wuch he had done this Parliament, as his granting that the Judges hereafter should hold their places quam diu se benè gesserint; bounding the Forrest-Lawes; taking-away Ship-money; establishing the Subjects property in Tonnage and Poundage; granting the Triennial Parliament; free Justice against Delinquents. With other things; Concluding graciously, That He would omit nothing which might give them just content.*

And, when he had signed the forenamed Bills, after a short mention of the journey which he intended speedily to take into *Scotland*; he propounded to them a thing very acceptable, concerning his Nephew, the Prince Elector Palatine, that he could not but (at the desire of that Printe) send an Ambassadour to assist him at the Dyet at *Ratisbone* with the Emperour: and, fearing that he should not receive so good an Answer as might in justice be expected, he (for the better countenancing that businesse,) intended to publish a *Manifesto* in his owne name;

The King publishes a Manifesto, to the Emperour of Germany, in favour of his nephew, the Prince Elector Palatine, in July 1641.

but

but would not do it but by consent and advice of Parliament; without which he conceived it would be a thing of no validity.

Which Manifesto was afterwards made by the full consent of both Houses, and Sir THOMAS ROE, a Member of the House, and a Gentleman of great abilities, was sent to the Emperour at *Ratisbone* about it; but without any good successe.

The Queene-Mother of France withdraws from England, in July, 1641.

At the same time the Queene-Mother of *France*, as was before desired by the Parliament, was to take her leave of *England*. The King consented to her departure; but, Money being wanting for the Provision of her Journey, the Parliament allotted ten thousand pounds to her, out of the Poll-Money. This great Lady had arrived in *England* almost three years before, and so long been entertained by the King, her Sonne in Law, with great respect, and an allowance answerable to support her State, 100 l. *per diem*.

Of her Character and conduct.

It was her misfortune, (how farre her crime, I cannot tell) that, during her abode here, the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* were embroyled in great troubles; which the People were apt to impute in some measure to her counsels, knowing what power the Queene, her Daughter, had with the King.

Others taxed her not at all, but looked-upon other causes, the same counsels, which, long before her arrival, had distempered *England*; but the people made their judgement upon it, from her actions, or successes, in other places.

But, however it were, the Queene was feareful of the people here, and had, not long before, desired to have a guard allowed her, pretending feare of her life, by reason of some attempts, which she conceived to have been made against her; upon which a Guard was set about her house.

Her Regency in *France* had not beene happy, nor according to the interest of that Kingdome; though that, perchance, may be accounted a fault, not so particular to her as commonly incident to the Regency of Queene-Mothers in that Land: In so much as THUANUS commends the saying of CHARLES the Ninth (a Prince whom otherwise he doth not praise) upon his death-bed, *'That, since he must dye at that age, (being foure and twenty) he thanked God he had no Sonne, least France should fall under a Regency, of which he had found the sad effects.* His Mother was KATHARINE DE MEDICIS, of the same Family with this Queene.

After the time of her Regency, her actions had been such, that the King her Sonne would not harbour her in his owne Kingdome; nor was she welcome into the Territories of her Sonne in Law, the King of *Spaine*. But the people there were no lesse desirous of her departure than afterward in *England*.

Insomuch as she became a strange example of the instability of humane fortunes, that so great a Queen, and Mother to so many mighty Princes, should want a quiet Harbour for her age.

And soon after dies at Culleine, or Collogn, in Germany.

Not long after her departure from *England*, she died at *Culleine*, and might seeme a parallel, in some things, to the famous Empresse of Rome who founded that City, and there planted a Roman Colony, AGRIPPINA, the wife of CLAUDIUS CESAR, and the Mother of NERO. They both had tasted of power, been active in it, but not pleasing to the people. They were both taught, that the greatnesse of their Sonnes,

was

was not so much advantage to their Power, as they had hoped; and had learned, that all power dependent upon another, is of small validity, and lesse stability; as TACITUS observes, speaking of the same AGRIPPINA, *Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile & fluxum est, quàm fama potentiae non suâ vi nixæ.*

About two Moneths before the departure of this Queene, the Princesse MARY, The Princess Mary, eldest daughter to the King, not yet ten yeares of age, was married with great triumph at *White-Hall*, to the young Prince of Orange, WILLIAM; Bishop WRENNE, being then Deane of the King's Chappel, performed the solemnity, on Sunday the second of May, 1641. eldest daughter of the King, is married to the Prince of Orange, May 2, 1641.

The Marriage had been before debated-of in Parliament, and consented-to; The King himselfe, upon the ninth of *February*, having declared to the Lords what large Propositions the Ambassadors of the States had made to him upon that purpose.

The people in general were pleased with this Marriage, and glad the King had chosen-out for his Son-in-Law a Protestant Prince, and one who was also a servant to a State which had been long confederate with *England*, and whose Interest carried them the same way, they being Professors of the same Religion, and in that kinde of Discipline, to which the greatest part of the Parliament and the People of *England* were inclined, and to which they hoped (though that hope was not at that time so fully declared as it was afterward) to reforme the Church of *England*, as that of *Scotland* had been reformed to it already. By this Match of the King's owne chusing, they began to hope that the Spanish Faction in Court was not now at all prevalent, but that things might hereafter be carried-on according to the right English way.

In this hope they were the more confirmed, seeing the Parliament go-on without any opposition from the King; no dissension having yet happened, nor being likely to happen, as they conceived: for that Conspiracy, of bringing-up the Army against the Parliament, which we touched before, was not yet discovered, nor at all thought-of; though, within few daies after, it broke-out.

But some there were, who suspended their joy, and were not much confident that this Marriage would bring happinesse to *England*, unlesse the King were perfectly right with his People, and wished the same thing as they did; considering on the one side the condition of the Prince of Orange, and that he might be ambitious of more power than was due to him; and, for that reason, might engage himselfe in a reciprocal way for the King against his People, if occasion served.

On the other side, they considered the States as Politicians of this world, and men who had other interests in view than that of Religion; and, if dissension should in *England* happen between Prince and People, (which was never but feared in some degree) might be apt to side with the King against the just freedome of the Subject; which must needs depresse the strength of *England*, and keepe it from so much greatnesse as might eclipse their owne; the King of *Spaine* being now weake, and they having no such feare of him as might enforce them to need *England's* strength, as heretofore.

But the Parliament, about the beginning of this *July*, were busied in such a multiplicity of Affaires, (which, by several Committees, they daily transacted,) concerning

cerning the reformation of domestical abuses, that it were an endlesse, and indeed an improper, thing for an Historian to describe them all. The Records of Parliament will at large satisfie those that are curious in particulars; onely some of the chief I will briefly touch, which happened before the King went into *Scotland*.

Proceedings in the House of Commons against Dr. Matthew Wrenne, Bishop of Ely, in July, 1641.

Upon the fifth of *July*, 1641, the Committee, appointed for that purpose, made their report to the House of Commons, of the charge against MATTHEW WRENNE, Bishop of *Ely*, (whose accusation was before mentioned,) consisting of many Articles; which all tended to the introducing of Superstition, and too neare approaches to the Roman Religion, as those Articles will declare.

After some time spent in debate upon the Articles, it was resolved upon the question, and voted, That it was the opinion of the House, That Bishop WRENNE, was unworthy and unfit to hold, or exercise, any Office, or Dignity, in Church, or Commonwealth; And further voted, That there be a Message sent to the Lords, to desire them to joyne with the Commons, in petitioning His Majesty to remove the said Bishop both from his Person and Service.

Charges brought against several Judges for their conduct relating to Ship-money.

About the same time also, the Charges against those Judges before-mentioned, who gave their extrajudicial opinions for levying of Ship-money, being five in number, (Judge BRAMSTON, Baron TREVER, Baron WESTON, Baron DAVENPORT, and Judge CRAWLEY,) were read in the House of Commons, and several Members appointed to present those particular Charges against every Judge; which they all did, making large Speeches in aggravation of their Crimes: Against Judge BERKLEY there was a higher Charge, so great as amounted to High Treason.

The King was now wholly intent upon his journey into *Scotland*, which he determined to take upon the tenth of *August*, to which both Houses had once agreed; but afterwards, upon mature consideration, desired the King to deferre it fourteene daies longer for divers reasons.

That the distempers of the Kingdome were such, as could not well be composed, unlesse His Majesty would stay the desired time, there being many weighty affaires to be taken into consideration, and no course yet set-downe for the Government of the Kingdome in his absence.

The King, notwithstanding their often and earnest pressing this suit, was stedfast to the first day, alledging that the affaires of *Scotland* did necessarily require his presence there at that time, and that he would passe any thing of just concerne before he went, and that he had to the same purpose many times desired them to hasten their businesse for him before such a time.

The King goes to Scotland, August 10, 1641.

The King accordingly, upon the tenth of *August*, departed out of *London* toward *Scotland*; but the same day, before he tooke his journey, coming to the Lords House, he passed divers Bills which the Houses had prepared for him; some concerning the publike, (as the Bill for Knighthood, the Bill for free making of Gunpowder and Saltpeter;) and others concerning the Estates and affaires of private men.

He likewise signed the Commission for passing of Bills in his absence; the Commissioners appointed were, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Earle

of

of *Lindsey*, the Earle of *Essex*, Marquesse *Hartford*, the Earle of *Bath*, and the Earle of *Dorset*.

He signed them also another Bill, whereby he made the Earle of *Essex* General of all his Forces on this side Trent, by which he had power to raise Forces in case of necessity.

But to another request, which both Houses had made to him the day before, which was, That the Earle of *Pembrooke* might be made Lord-Steward, in the Earle of *Arundel's* place, during his absence, (for the Earle of *Arundel* was then going-over with the Queene-Mother) and that the Earle of *Salisbury* might be appointed Lord-Treasurer; he said he would take further time to consider of it.

By this time many jealousies began to arise in the hearts of the people, many divisions, and differences of opinions concerning the Parliament; which, (being by degrees fomented by such persons as were disaffected to it, by reason of their owne losses, and particular interests; whose number could not be small :) did fatally prepare the way to that miserable confusion which after followed. The Parliament begins to be less popular than it had been at first. In August, 1641.

Bishops had been much lifted-at, though not yet taken-away; whereby a great party, whose livelihood and fortune depended on them, and farre more, whose hopes of preferment looked that way; most of the Clergy, and both the Universities, began to be daily more disaffected to the Parliament; complaining that all rewards of learning would be taken-away; which wrought deeply in the hearts of the young, and most ambitious, of that Coat. The causes of this change.

Another thing which seemed to trouble some who were not bad men, was that extreame License, which the Common People, almost from the very beginning of the Parliament, tooke to themselves, of reforming, without Authority, Order, or decency; rudely disturbing Church-Service, whilst the Common-Prayer was reading; tearing those Bookes, Surplices, and such things: which the Parliament, (either too much busied in a variety of affaires, or, perchance, too much fearing the losse of a considerable Party, whom they might have need of against a real and potent Enemy,) did not so farre restraints as was expected, or desired, by those men.

To this were added those daily reports of ridiculous Conventicles, and preachings made by Tradesmen, and illiterate people of the lowest ranke, to the scandal and offence of many: Which some in a merry way would put-off, considering the preceedent times, by saying, "that these Tradesmen did but take-up that Duty which the Prelates and the great Doctors had let-fall, *the preaching the Gospel*; That it was but a reciprocal invasion of each others callings, that Chandlers, Salters, Weavers, and such like, preached, when the Archbishop himselfe, instead of preaching, was daily busied in Projects about Leather, Salt, Sope, and such commodities as belonged to those Tradesmen."

Many people, by degrees, grew disaffected to the Parliament, being daily poysoned by the discourses of the friends, kindred, and retainers, to so many great Delinquents, as must needs feare such a Parliament; who, though they be no considerable party, in respect of the whole Common-wealth; yet plied their particular interests with more eagernesse than most men do that of the publike.

Some are taken-off by time and their owne inconstancy, when they have looked for quicker redresse of grievances than the great concurrence of so many weighty businesses (in a long-discontinued and reforming Parliament) can possibly admit, how industrious soever they might be, distracted as they were with so great a variety. Those people, after some time spent, grew weary againe of what before they had so long wished to see; not considering that a Prince, if he be averse from such a Parliament, can finde power enough to retard their proceedings, and keepe-off for a long time the cure of the State. When that happens, the people, tired with expectations of such a cure, do usually, by degrees, forget the sharpnesse of those diseases which before required it; or else, in the redressing of many and long disorders, and to prevent them for the future, there being for the most part a necessity of laying heavy Taxes, and draining of much Money from the people, they grow extreemly sensible of that present smart, feeling more paine by the Cure for a time, than they did by the lingering disease before, and not considering that the causes of all which they now endure, were preecedent, and that their present suffering is necessary for their future security.

It was the general opinion of all Gentlemen at that time, That a Parliament, so much and so long desired as this had been, after so great and constant a violation of the Lawes and Liberties of *England* in the King's former Government, could scarce, in possibility, ever grow into the dislike of the people, or, at least, of so great a part of the people as might be able (which yet, within one yeare, was after seene) to make a Warre against it, and endanger the utter ruine and subversion of it. But I have spoken before of some causes, which might seeme strong enough to engage a part of the people against Parliament; whose particular interests and livelihoods were neerely touched. How farre any proceeding might distaste others, who were uninterested in their private fortunes or callings, I cannot tell any certaine reason: But I remember that, within the compasse of a yeare after, (when this Civil Warre began to breake-out over all the Kingdom, and men in all companies began to vent their opinions in an argumentative way, either opposing or defending the Parliament-Cause; and Treatises were printed on both sides :) many Gentlemen who forsooke the Parliament, were very bitter against it for the proceedings in Religion, in countenancing, or not suppressing, the rudenesse of people in Churches (which I related before) when they were acting those things which seemed to be against the Discipline of the English Church, and might introduce all kindes of Sects and Schismes. Neither did those of the Parliament-side agree in opinions concerning that point: Some said, it was wisely done of the Parliament, not to proceed against any such persons, for feare of losing a considerable party, as is said before; Others thought and said, That, by so doing, they would lose a farre more considerable party of Gentlemen than could be gained of the other sort. They also affirmed, That, Lawes and Liberties having been so much violated by the King, if the Parliament had not so farre drawne Religion also into their cause, it might have sped better; for the Parliament frequently at that time, in all their expressions, whensoever they charged the corrupt Statesmen with injustice and Tyranny, would put Popery, or a suspicion of it, into the first place against them. I remember, when

when the Warre was begun, among those little Treatises, which were then published, (as many there were without any names to them,) I found one, in which the case is thus expressed, to recite the words of it. *Perchance (saith he) too much insisting upon Religion, and taxing the King for affecting Popery, hath, by accident, weakened the Parliament, and brought Parties to the King. It may seem a great Paradox that the best and onely necessary of all things, Religion, being added into the scale of Lawes and Liberties, should make the scale lighter than before. Neither can it be true but by accident; as thus: The strange intercourse betwixt Rome and the English Court; The King's owne Letters to the Pope; His favouring of Priests, and such things; though they may give a State just cause of suspicion, that their Religion is undermining: Yet, because it cannot be so absolutely proved to the sight of all the people, that the King favoured Popery, as that he violated the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome; (which latter was visible to all;) the former, concerning Religion, remaines; in the people's reason, as a controverted question (the King still protesting for Religion) and the disputes about that, amusing the People, make them by degrees forget that crime of the King's which was without controversie and evident, "the violation of their Lawes and Liberties:" And more than so; for some, supposing that the Parliament unjustly taxed him in Religion, did, in time, believe, that he was not so guilty of the other, as they would make him: which I have heard some of late maintaine. From whence may follow a strange conclusion; That the King's dealing so much with Rome, to the disadvantage of the Protestant Religion, should now turne to his owne advantage in a Protestant Kingdome. And we may make this as paradoxical a supposition, That, if the King had never done any thing prejudicial to the Protestant Religion, he would have found fewer Protestants this Parliament to take his part. For then, there being no dispute at all about Religion, the crimes of his State mis-government would have plainly and inexcusably appeared to all; as we have seene that some of our former Kings, for the like violation of Lawes and Liberties, when there was but one Religion, and therefore no dispute about it, have been heavily censured in Parliament, no man appearing in their justification. And why should not a Parliament thinke that such things are cause enough to be stood-upon, and to justifie their quarrel before God? as if the Almighty did not abhorre Injustice, Oppression, Tyranny, and the like, in any Kingdome, unlesse the profession of Religion were also depraved. Nay, he abhorreth it more in that place where the purest profession of Religion is.*

Besides, that frequent naming of Religion, as if it were the onely quarrel, hath caused a great mistake of the question; in some by reason of ignorance; in others, of subtilty, whilst they wilfully mistate, in order to abuse, the Parliament's Cause, writing whole Volumes in a wrong-stated case; as, instead of disputing "whether the Parliament of England lawfully assembled, where the King virtually is, may by Armes defend the Religion established by the same power, together with the Lawes and Liberties of the Nation, against Delinquents, who detain with them the King's seduced Person:" They make it the question, "Whether Subjects, taken in a general notion, may make Warre against their King for Religion's sake?"

Such

Such was the sense of many Gentlemen at that time, who adhered to the Parliament. But to proceed in the Narration.

The Parliament had been of late sensible of the losse of some from them, and (having detected divers Conspiracies and Machinations of disaffected people against them, and fearing more,) had, in *May* last, framed a Protestation, which was solemnly taken by all the Members of both Houses, and sent through-out *England* to be taken by the people; the forme of it was in these words:

A Protestation in support of the Privileges of the Parliament is framed in *May*, 1641.

I A. B. in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest to maintaine and defend, as farre as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and estate, the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations within this Realme, contrary to the said Doctrine; and according to the duty of my Allegiance, I will maintaine and defend his Majesties Royal Person, Honour and Estate, as also the Power and Priviledge of Parliaments, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and every Person that shall make this Protestation, in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same; and to my power, as farre as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and, by all good waies and meanes, endeavour to bring condigne punishment on all such as shall, by force, practice, counsels, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise, do any thing to the contrary in this present Protestation contained: And further, That I shall, in all just and honourable waies, endeavour to preserve the union and peace betwixt the three Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and neither for hope, feare, or any other respects, shall relinquish this Promise, Vow, and Protestation.

It were not amisse in this place briefly to mention some alterations, which had been made before the time that the Kinge tooke his journey into *Scotland*; (though they were not done immediately about that time, but some weekes, or Moneths, before,) because they concerne some Noblemen, of whom we shall have occasion hereafter to make mention in the course of this History.

Several changes in the great Officers of the kingdom. In *May*, 1641.

The Lord COTTINGTON, upon the 17th of *May*, 1641, had resigned his place of Master of the Wards; and the Lord Viscount SAY and SEALE succeeded him in that Office.

Within few daies after, the Lord-Treasurer, Doctor JUCKSON, Bishop of *London*, resigned his Staffe, and the Office was committed to five Commissioners. About that time the Earle of *Leicester*, who had lately returned from being Ambassadour in *France*, was, by the King, made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Earle of *Newcastle* was removed from being Governour to the Prince, and the Marquesse of *Hartford* appointed in his roome.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

A Standing Committee during the Recess of both Houses of Parliament. The Rebellion of the Irish, and Massacre of the Protestants there. Some endeavours of the English Parliament for relief of that Kingdom.

THE businesse of *England*, by this absence of the King, was at a great stand. In such a concurrence of high affairs, and so great an expectation to find redress of pressing Grievances, nothing was so irksome to the People as Delay. To retard the cure, was little better than to destroy. And the Sequel, within a short time, proved worse than the wisest men could imagine, or the most jealous possibly suspect; though jealousies and fears were then grown to a great height, and the Parliament of *England* was less than ever assured of the King's real affection to them. Nothing of State was transacted in Parliament during the King's absence. Some debates

The King proposes to the Parliament of England, to permit the Soldiers of the army lately disbanded in Ireland to enlist themselves in the army of the King of Spain.

But the Parliament refuses its consent.

A report of a Plot against the Lives of the Marquis of Hamilton and other great Peers of Scotland, in October, 1641.

debates there were only about Church-service, and alterations to be made in the Book of Common-prayer; in which, notwithstanding, nothing was concluded. One business only came to be discussed; of which the King himself gave the occasion; who, within few daies after his arrival in *Scotland*, signified by a Letter to the Lords, That he was engaged to the Spaniard by promise, to let him have four thousand souldiers out of that lately-disbanded Irish Army, which the Earle of *Strafford* had before raised; his desire was to make good his promise by consent of Parliament. But the House of Commons (whom the Lords had invited to a Conference for that purpose,) would not consent that any Irish should go to assist the Spaniard. Some reasons were then given; but more particular cause was shewed about ten daies after, when a second Letter came from the King, in which his Majesty declared, That the Spanish Ambassadour claimed his promise, from which in honour he could not recede. Notwithstanding, since he had found that Ambassadour so reasonable, as that he was content to accept of two thousand; he hoped the Parliament would not deny that. The House tooke it into consideration; and within two dayes, the Lord of *FAWKLAND*, a Member of the House of Commons, at a conference delivered to the Lords, gave reasons in the name of that House, why it was very unfit to grant the King's desire, because the Spaniard was not only an Ally, and confederate, but an assistant, to the Emperour against the Prince Elector, his Majesties Nephew; who, by the power and oppression of that Emperour, had been long deprived of his Inheritance: And at this time, when the King had published a Manifesto in behalf of his Nephew, and to that purpose sent an Ambassadour to the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, it would seem to be a contradiction in the King to assist the Enemies of the said Prince Elector, which might be considered as a drawing of his own Sword against himself: besides the great prejudice it must needs bring to the Protestant cause, which this present Parliament so much intended and laboured to promote. Upon these reasons it was thought fit not to consent to the King's desire in that point. And immediately the two Houses of Parliament adjourned themselves from that day, being the eighth of *September*, till the twentieth of *October*, and appointed a standing Committee of fifty Members during that recess.

Before the Accesses and meeting-again of the Parliament, Letters came from the English Committee in *Scotland*, and were read before that standing Committee of *Westminster*, importing the discovery of a Treasonable plot against the lives of Marquisse *HAMILTON*, and others, the greatest Peeres of *Scotland*; the conspirators being the Earle of *Crayford*, and some others. How it was discovered, or how prevented, or whether the King had any privity to it (though one of that country have since written very plainly, charging the King with it) because the States of *Scotland* were very silent in it, the Parliament of *England* took the lesse notice of it: Only the standing Committee, for avoiding the like attempts at *London*, and fearing that such might flow from the same spring, appointed strong guards to be placed in many parts of the City, till further directions might be given from the two Houses at their Accesses. The malignancy, which at that time began to appear in people of that condition and quality which wee before mentioned, and was not

not only expressed in usual discourse among their companions, but vented in scurrilous and bitter Libels against those Lords and Commons who were generally reputed the most sedulous for the Common-wealth, was cause sufficient to increase the feares and jealousies of the Parliament.

But that fatal fire, which so sadly wasted the three Kingdoms, broke-out in that in which it was least feared; and those that seemed most secure, were the first sufferers. For about the end of *October*, 1641, during the King's abode in *Scotland*, the most barbarous and bloody Rebellion that ever any age or Nation were guilty of, broke-out in *Ireland*. The atrocity of it is without a parallel; and as full of wonder was the close carriage of so black and far-reaching a Designe. The innocent Protestants were, upon a suddain, disseised of their Estates, and the persons of above two hundred thousand men, women, and children, murthered,—many of them with exquisite and unheard-of tortures,—within the space of one month.

The Papists of Ireland suddenly rise and massacre the Protestants, in October, 1641.

That which encreased the amazement of most men, was, The consideration that the ancient hatred, which the Irish (a thing incident to conquer'd Nations) had formerly borne to the English, did now seeme to be quite buried and forgotten; forty years of peace had compacted those two Nations into one body, and cemented them together by all conjunctures of alliance, intermarriages, and consanguinity, which was in outward appearance strengthened by frequent entertainments, and all kinds of offices of good neighbourhood. There seemed in many places a mutual transmigration (as was observed by a noble Gentleman, whose place in that Kingdom gave him means to know it, out of whose faithful relation of that Rebellion and Massacre, I have partly collected my discourse of it) into each others manners. *Many English strangely degenerating into the Irish manners & customes, and many Irish, especially of the better sort, having taken-up the English language, apparel, and decency of living in their private houses.* The present Government was full of lenity and moderation; and some redresse of former grievances had then been newly granted by the King to his Irish subjects. The same Gentleman, in his History of the Irish rebellion, (where the Reader may more fully informe himself of particulars) affirms, that he could never hear of any one Englishman that received any certain notice of this conspiracy, till that very evening before which it was to be put in execution. Some intimations had been given by Sir WILLIAM COLE, in a Letter to the Lords-Justices, Sir WILLIAM PARSONS, and Sir JOHN BURLACE, with the rest of the Council, concerning dangerous resorts, and meetings of some persons who were judged fit instruments for such a mischief.

Sir John Temple.

This horrid plot, contrived with so much secrecy, was to take effect upon the 23d of *October*. The Castle of *Dublin*, the chief strength of that Kingdome, and principal Magazine of the King's Armes and Ammunition, (where all those Armes which were taken from the late disbanded Irish Army, and others, which the Earl of *Strafford* had provided, were deposited,) was to be seized by nine of the clock that day by the Rebels; for which purpose many of the Irish Gentry of great quality, were, the night before, come to *Dublin*, to be in readinesse for the performing of that exploit. It was further agreed among those conspirators, that,

The Castle of Dublin is saved from the seizure of the Rebels, by a lucky discovery of the intended attack upon it, the night before it was to be made.

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upon the same day, all other his Majesties Forts and Magazines of Armes and Ammunition in that Kingdom should be surprized, and all Protestants and English, that would not joyn with them, should be cut-off. But it pleased God to prevent the seisure of that Castle, and so to save the Kingdom from being wholly lost in one day; and that by a means strange and unexpected. HUGH MAC MAHON, Esquire, grand-son to the famous Rebel TYRONE, a Gentleman of a plentiful fortune in the county of *Monagan*, and one that had served in Armes under the King of *Spain* as Lieutenant-Colonel, a principal Agent in this Rebellion, being come with others (as aforesaid) into *Dublin* the day before that great Designe was to be put in execution, being the 22nd of *October*, admitted into his company at a Tavern in that City, one OWEN CONALLY, of Irish extraction, but a Protestant, and servant to Sir JOHN CLOTWORTHY, a Member of the English Parliament. To this OWEN he revealed so much, as they were drinking, that the honest man, escaping from him, (though not without great danger to himself, at the present,) informed the Lord-Justice PARSONS, that night, about nine of the clock, of a dangerous Designe upon the whole Kingdom; which being taken into present consideration, MAC MAHON was apprehended, and, after his examination, the Lord MAQUIRE also, another principal actor; who were both committed to close custody, and the Castle secured with all diligence. But many conspirators of great note escaped that night out of *Dublin*, as BIRNE, MORE, PLUNKET, and others.

A Proclamation
against the Irish Re-
bels, by the Lords of
the Council at Dub-
lin.

The Lords of the Council, amazed at the discovery of so horrid a Treason, did, notwithstanding, endeavour (since there was no prevention; for MAC MAHON had plainly told them, when he was examined, that by that time all the counties of *Ireland* were risen,) to use the best remedies to that desperate disease; and hoping that, perchance, the news how the plot for seizing of *Dublin*-castle was disappointed, might somewhat dishearten the conspirators in remote parts, and encourage the good Subjects with more confidence to stand upon their guard; issued-forth a Proclamation presently, and, by careful messengers, spread it into as many parts of the Kingdom as they could. The effect of which proclamation was, to signifie the discovery of the Treason, and exhort all men to do their duty in suppressing of it.

Military Stores in
Dublin Castle.

But the general Designe was past prevention; and that very day there came-in some poor English Protestants, and others in a short time, every day, and almost every hour; shewing how they had been robbed, and their houses surprised, by the Rebels, whose outrage daily increased in rapine and murdering, and firing Towns and Villages in divers counties. To oppose, therefore, the growth of that desperate malady, the Lords-Justices (dispatching Letters to the King in *Scotland*, and to the Earle of *Leicester*, lately made Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the King, and yet resident at *London*, of their lamentable condition,) examined with all diligence how they were provided for such a War. They found in *Dublin*, Stores, and Armes for ten thousand men, with Artillery, Powder, Match and Lead proportionable, laid-in by the late Earle of *Strafford*; which, though designed by him another way, were yet reserved,
by

by God's providence, for this service. But the Officers and souldiers of the old standing army were so much dispersed into remote places of the Kingdom, for the guard of other Forts, that there was scarce any possibility of drawing a considerable company together to defend *Dublin*, or make head against the Rebels in the North. The greatest mischief to the State, and advantage to the Rebels, was, That there was no Money in the Exchequer ; and besides, the King's Revenues, and the Rents of English Gentlemen due for that halfe-year, were either in the hands of the Tenants, or of the Collectors, in the country, and must unavoidably fall into the Rebels power ; so that, although their disease were present, the only means of cure was remote, which was a dependance upon some supplies from the Parliament of *England*.

Upon the very day designed for the surprisal of the Castle at *Dublin*, the 23rd of *October*, the Northern Rebels broke-out in the Province of *Ulster*, and in few dayes got possession of so many Towns, Forts, and Gentlemen's Houses, within the counties of that Province, as might seeme almost incredible, if we consider only the chief actors, men of no great skill in Martial affairs, or any policy : such as Sir *PHELIM ONEALE*, and his Brother, with the rest ; and not rather (which indeed was the true reason,) the general engagements of the Irish, and their deep dissimulation, concurring with the great credulity of the English, upon the causes aforementioned, of so long intermixed co-habitation, and friendly Relations betwixt them. Both these were the causes which afterward encreased the Massacre of the English, who, when the fire brake-out, implored the friendship of their Irish neighbours, Landlords, or Tenants ; committing into their hands and protection their treasure, wives and children, with all that was dear unto them, in hope that former friendship might prevail. But they, generally, either betrayed them into the power of other Rebels, or perfidiously and cruelly murdered them with their own hands : which extreme falshood and cruelty in the Irish was thought to be much encreased by the charmings of their Priests, who told them, " That it was a mortal sin to protect, or relieve, any of the English."

That intermixture of the Nations did also, at this sad time, make the English lesse able to defend themselves than if they had lived singly by parties of their own. For, where the English were able to make any head, or stand upon their guard, (though in such an amazement and suddain surprisal) they defended themselves beyond belief, till the Irish (principled by their Priests) offered them fair Quarter ; with assurance of lives and goods, safe-conduct, and free passage to what places they pleased ; confirming such covenants with deep oathes, and protestations, and sometimes under their hands and Seales. But, when they had the deceived English in their power ; the Souldiers spoiled, stripped, and murdered them at their pleasure. So were many served ; as, at *Armagh*, by Sir *PHELIM ONEALE* and his Brother ; at *Belterbert*, by *PHILIP ORELLEY* ; and at *Longford*, *Tullough*, and other Castles in the County of *Fermanagh*, by others of those Rebels. But, if the English, (who stood to defend their private houses, and so were the more easily cut-off,) could have deserted their habitations at the first rising, and joyned themselves into bodies, they might, happily, have made a better resistance. Whilest

The Irish rebellion breaks-out, first, in the province of *Ulster*, *October 23*, 1641.

The treachery and cruelty of the Irish rebels towards the English protestants.

these inhumane cruelties and Massacres were acting in miserable *Ireland*, and daily spreading themselves in every part of that Kingdom; many Counties in several Provinces declaring themselves, and following the barbarous example of those in *Ulster*; the sad newes was brought to the Parliament of *England*.

Vigorous proceedings of the English Parliament, for the suppression of the Irish Rebellion, Oct. 27, 1641.

The first Letters, which before were mentioned, sent from the Lords-Justices upon the 25th of *October*, were carried, and delivered at *London*, on the last day of that month by OWEN Ó CONALLY, the happy discoverer of the first Plot; with a full information of all particulars within his knowledge: which by the Lords, who were first acquainted with it, was delivered at a Conference to the House of Commons; who presently ordered, *That the House forthwith should be resolved into a Committee, to consider the matter offered concerning the Rebellion in Ireland, as likewise to provide for the safety of England.* By which Committee, it was agreed that 50,000 pound should presently be provided; and that the Loane of it should be entreated from the City of *London* upon Publick security. 2. That a Select Committee of both Houses should be named to consider the affairs of *Ireland*. 3. That OWEN Ó CONALLY, who discovered this great Treason, should have 500 pound presently paid him; and 200 pound *per annum* Pension, till Provision in Land of a greater value be made for him. 4. That Papists of quality be secured in their several Counties within *England*. 5. That no persons whatsoever, except those who are Merchants, shall be admitted to go-over into *Ireland*, without Certificates from the Committee of both Houses appointed for the affairs of *Ireland*.

These things were reported to both Houses, and willingly assented-to, within two daies after the discovery first made unto them of that Rebellion. And (notwithstanding those present distractions in *England*, which began then to appear) part of every day, during that *November*, was allotted to the consideration of *Ireland*. Within four dayes after the beginning of which month, they ordered many particulars of great import for the relief of it, consisting of supplies of Money, Magazines of Victuals, Ammunition of all sorts, courses to be taken for raising Forces for the occasions of that Kingdom; and shipping for guard of their Sea-coasts; as more particularly appeareth in the records of Parliament.

And in November, 1641.

Whilst the English Parliament were thus ordering the affaires of bleeding *Ireland*; other Letters from the Lords-Justices bearing date the fifth of *November* were brought, and communicated to both Houses. Who, in earnest zeal to the promotion of that businesse, voted two hundred thousand pounds to be raised for suppressing the Irish Rebellion, securing *England*, and payment of the Publick debts. For which, the City of *London* must of necessity be made use of, (collections through the Kingdom being too slow for such an urgency). And, to encourage the City in it, an Order was made to secure them for monies formerly lent, and to allow them the full Interest of eight *per cent.* for all-together.

Whilst the *English* Parliament were thus busied about the relief of *Ireland*; the horrid Rebellion with a swift motion ran throughout that unhappy Kingdom, many Counties daily joyning with them; and divers Lords and Gentlemen, who for many daies had lived unsuspected in *Dublin*, went into the Country to side with

with the Rebels, and act their parts in those inhumane outrages : the Lords-Justices and Privy Council were enough troubled to secure *Dublin*, to victual the Castle, and prepare defence against those dangers, which threatned the City, and were made much more by the feares of spoyled people resorting thither.

But the care of the Privy-Council extended further, (notwithstanding the troubles there) than to the City of *Dublin* ; and, having a Magazine of Armes within the Castle, they resolved so to dispose of them as that resistance might be made against the Rebels in other parts. Some Armes were happily disposed-of to such Gentlemen (Sir HENRY TICHBORNE, Sir CHARLES COOTE, and others, of whom more hereafter) as, to their lasting honour, did excellent service. But another part of them were worse than lost, namely, those which were distributed to the Lords and Gentlemen of the English Pale ; who afterwards declared themselves for the Rebels, and used the Arms to the destruction of those who had put them into their hands. That English Pale is a large circuit of Land, possessed at the first conquest of *Ireland* by the English, and ever since inhabited by them ; containing divers Counties, as *Dublin*, *Meth*, *Lowth*, *Kildare*, &c.

The treachery of the Lords of the English Pale.

The Lords of the Council thought fit to trust those Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale both with Commissions and Armes (though many of them were professed Papists) hoping that this great Confidence would work so far upon their hearts, (if any truth or loyalty were left there,) as to keep them, at least, from joyning with the enemy ; and, if they were honest, would enable them to oppose the threatening incursions of the Northren Rebels. This great Trust the Council were more encouraged to repose in these perfidious Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, because themselves had appeared at *Dublin* of their own accords, professing truth and loyalty, with deep and solemne Protestations, and declaring that they were most forward and ready to concur with their Lordships in that service.

But so great an affliction was to fall upon unhappy *Ireland*, that all those Lords that were Papists, after they had received Commissions and Armes, notwithstanding all their deep vowes, did most perfidiously, soon after, desert their houses, and openly declare themselves in actual Rebellion ; such as were Viscount MONGANET, GORMANSTON, and COSTELOE, DILLON, BIRNE, BELLER, TALBOT, and many others.

Such of them as were papists, break their solemn protestations of Loyalty, and join the Irish rebels.

The Condition of *Dublin* was more lamentable every day than other ; and not so much afflicted were they with feares and dangers which threatned themselves, as by that extream sorrow, which compassion must needs work in them, toward all the suffering English which resorted thither. *Dublin* was the Sanctuary of all the despoiled Protestants ; and, by that meanes, became the sad stage, upon which all horror was represented ; and what mischiefssoever were acted in other parts, were there discovered and lamented. Their eyes were sad witnesses of the Rebels cruelty, in those despoiled English which daily resorted to the City ; but their eares were much more afflicted with the relation of those horrid tortures, which had been used to those who died in other parts. Their eyes could not but extremely suffer from such wretched Spectacles as daily, from all parts, presented themselves ; People of all conditions,

conditions and qualities, of every age and Sex, spoiled, and stripped, with no coverings, but ragges, or twisted straw, to hide their privities; some wounded almost to death, others frozen with cold, some tired with travel, and so surbated that they came into the City creeping on their knees; others famished beyond all relief. And, besides the miseries of their bodies, their minds were tortured with the losse of all their fortunes, and sad remembrance of their husbands, wives, or children, most barbarously murdered before their faces. In this most lamentable plight, with wasted bodies and distracted mindes, did they arrive at *Dublin*; some to be relieved, some entombed (which was more than their murdered friends could obtaine from the Rebels) insomuch as they appeared like walking ghosts in every street, and all the Barnes, Stables, and out-houses were filled with them; where they soon died, (after they had recovered the City,) in so great numbers, that all the Church-yards of *Dublin* could not contain them: but the Lords were enforced to take in large pieces of ground on both sides of the River, to set apart for burying-places.

Horrid acts of cruelty
committed by the
Irish rebels.

But that part of this woeful Tragedy, which was presented to their eyes, was the least, and but the shadow of that other, which was related to their eares; of which the Readers and all posterity may share the sorrow. Many hundreds of those which had escaped did, (under their oathes, lawfully taken upon examination, and recorded with all particulars; as may be seen at large in the Records;) deliver to the Council what horrid Massacres the bloody villains had made of men, women, and children; and what cruel inventions they had used to torture those whom they murdered; scarce to be equalized by any, the most black and baleful, story of any age.

Many thousands of them at several places (too many to be here inserted) after all despites exercised upon them living, were put to the worst of deaths; some were burned on set purpose; others drowned for sport and pastime; and, if they swam, were kept from landing with poles, or were shot and murdered in the water; many were buried quick, and some set into the earth breast-high, and there left to famish. But most barbarous (as appears in very many examinations) was that cruelty which was shewed to great-bellied women; whom the villaines were not content merely to murder, but ripped-up their bellies, and many times took delight to see the Hogges eate the abortive Infants. But I am loath to dwell upon so sad a narration.

The greatest part of these inhumane cruelties were acted by the Irish upon the poor, unarmed, Brittaines, before any provocation given unto them: and, as the blood of so many thousand innocent persons was now sacrificed to their meer malice, so an equal number were afterwards sacrificed to their revenge; as, whensoever the Irish received any blow from English Forces, the English Protestants, that lived among them, were murdered in great numbers.

Vigorous proceedings of the Lords of the Council in Ireland, against the Irish rebels, in November, 1641.

By this time the Lords of the Council had armed as many as they were able, and given Commissions for raising of several Regiments, which were put into the hands (for the most part) of gallant men, as their actions after testified to the world. Sir CHARLES COOTE, an active and valiant man, (who was also made Governour of *Dublin*;) with great speed made-up his Regiment out of the poor, robbed, and stripped English, which had fled to *Dublin*; Sir HENRY TICHBORNE, a worthy Commander,

Commander, was dispatched-away with a Regiment of Foot, to keep *Tredagh* from the approaching Rebels: The Lord LAMBERT also, Sir THOMAS LUCAS, Captain ARMESTRONG, Captain YARNER, with others, raised, by Commissions, souldiers there.

This was done about the middle of *November*; at which time also the Earle of Ormond, with his well-armed Troop of Horse, came to *Dublin*; where, within few dayes after, he was, by a Commission sent from the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* (as likewise by the King's approbation from *Scotland*, signified in a Letter,) made Lieutenant-General of all the Forces there.

The Earl of Ormond is made Lieutenant-General of all the Forces in Ireland.

For the Earl of *Leicester* at that time was not enabled so far with necessaries for the service of *Ireland*, as to repair thither in person.

The Earl also sent-over to the Lords at *Dublin* (together with an Order of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament in *England*) comfortable Letters in this time of distresse, to let them know that the King had referred the whole businesse of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*; who had undertaken the charge and management of the War, had declared a speedy and vigorous assistance, had designed for their present supplies the summe of 50,000 pound, and taken order for all further provisions necessary.

The King entrusts the whole business of suppressing the Irish Rebellion, to the English Parliament.

But, that they might not be altogether destitute of real comfort, the Parliament of *England* sent them over at the same time Twenty thousand pound, which arrived most seasonably at *Dublin* (their treasure beginning utterly to fail,) for paying those new Companies which they had raised.

About the end of *November*, the Lords-Justices and Council of *Ireland*, considering the miserable desolations brought upon that whole Kingdom, and what miseries were further threatened, Commanded, by Proclamation, a Publike and religious Fast to be weekly observed upon Friday in the City of *Dublin*, to implore the mercy and assistance of Almighty God, and divert his heavy Indignation from them.

The Lords-Justices of Ireland order a Publick Fast to be kept weekly at Dublin.

CHAP. II.

The King returneth out of Scotland, and is pompously entertained by the City of London. The Remonstrance is published by the Parliament. The King entreth into the House of Commons. The Protestation of the twelve Bishops; and how it was censured by the Lords and Commons. Divers unhappy obstructions of the relief of Ireland.

The King returns from Scotland at the end of November, 1641.

BUT, to leave *Ireland* struggling against her sad and woeful calamities, and returne again to the Affairs of *England*;—at that same time about the end of *November*, 1641, the King, being returned from *Scotland*, was by the City of *London* entertained, feasted, and conducted to his Palace at *White-hall*, with as pompous Solemnity, and costly expressions of Love and Duty, as ever any King of *England* was.

Of which extraordinary testimonies of affection toward him, the King seemed very sensible, and returned Thanks to the City; inviting, within few dayes after, the chiefe of them to *Hampton-Court*, where they were feasted, and divers Aldermen were knighted by his Majesty.

The English House of Commons present a grand Remonstrance to the King, containing a recital of all the grievances of the people throughout the King's reign, December 15, 1641.

While the King resided at *Hampton-Court*, the House of Commons presented to him a Remonstrance, or Declaration of the state of the Kingdom; wherein all the chiefe grievances and oppressions, which the Nation had groaned-under since the beginning of his Reign until that time, were recited; but with as much tenderness of expression, and respect to his Person (for such care they took, as it appeared in that Petition of theirs which accompanied the Remonstrance) as in the utterance of so much truth could possibly be shewn. For all the fault is laid upon ill Ministers, who are called a Malignant Party.

That Remonstrance, some little time before the King's return out of *Scotland*, had

had been with much earnestnesse debated in the House of Commons: and at that time when it was Voted, so much divided was the House, that not above nine voices carried it.

So fierce and long were the disputations about it, and arguments urged on both sides, that not only the day, but a great part of the night was spent in it. For the House arose not until two of the clock in the morning.

The prevailing part alledged for it (as it was afterward expressed in their Petition to the King) that *Their intention was only to inform his Majesty, his Peers, and all other his loyal Subjects; with no purpose at all of laying the least blemish upon his Person, but to represent how much his Royal Authority and Trust had been abused to the great prejudice and danger of his Majesty, and all his good Subjects.*

It was alledged by many Gentlemen in ordinary discourses, who were of the same opinion that the prevailing Voters in Parliament were, That such a Remonstrance might be of good use, and that the King, (having, perchance, been ignorant, in some degree, of how much evil had formerly been wrought) might, by this Remonstrance, be not only brought to a knowledge of his past Errors, but to a salubrious fear of offending again, by considering how publick and manifest to the World the defaults of Princes in point of Government must needs appear.

The other side were of opinion, That this Remonstrance, instead of directing him for the future, would teach him only to hate the makers of it, as upbraiders of his crimes, and as persons that went-about to lessen, or blemish, (and so the King seemed to relish it, as appeared in his Answer printed,) his Reputation with the people. They held it fitter at such a time, when the King's Affections were dubious toward the Parliament, to win him by the sweeter way of concealing his Errors, than, by publishing of them, to hazard the provocation of him, with whom it was not behoveful to contest, unlesse they were in hope to change his disposition for the future, or ascertained of their own power, and resolved to make full use of it.

For mine own part, I will make no judgement at all upon it; nor can we truly judge by the successe of things. But such an unhappy Genius ruled those times (for Historians have observed a Genius of times, as well as of climates, or men,) that no endeavours proved successful; nor did any actions produce the right (though probable) effects.

Who would not in probability have judged that the forementioned costly and splendid entertainment, which the City of *London* gave to the King, would have exceedingly endeared them unto him, and produced no effects but those of love and concord? Yet accidentally it proved otherwise. For many people, ill-affected to the Parliament, gave it out in ordinary discourse (*Non ignota loquor*, it is a known truth;) that the City were weary of the Parliament's tedious proceedings, and would be ready to join with the King against them. Whether it begat the same opinion in the King or not, I cannot tell; but certainly some conceived so, by some of the King's actions which immediately followed, expressing a greater confidence against the

Parliament than before, displacing some from such Trusts, as had been conferred on them : Insomuch that the City presently after, finding what ill use was made of these expressions, were enforced to declare themselves in a Petition to both Houses; " That, since some ill-affected People had interpreted their Loyal and affectionate entertainment of the King, as a sign that they would wholly adhere to him, and desert the Parliament; they openly professed the contrary; and that they would live and die with them for the good of the Common-wealth."

After which, the City, no lesse than the Parliament, did seem to be distasted both by the King and Queen.

Fears and Jealousies
between the King and
the Parliament, in
December, 1641.

The fears and jealousies that now reigned, were of a sadder nature than the fears of any former times had been. Two years before, the people feared, that whilst this King lived, they should never see a Parliament; but now they began to fear that no Parliament could do them good.

At this time began that fatal breach between King and Parliament to appear visibly, and wax daily wider, never to be closed, until the whole Kingdom was, by sad degrees, brought into a ruinous War.

From henceforth no true confidence appeared between him and that high Court; every day almost contributed somewhat to the division; and Declarations upon several occasions were published to the world; of which, though the language, for the most part, were fairely couched, and sweetened with frequent intermixtures of gracious expressions from the King, and affectionate professions from the Parliament; yet the substance was matter of expostulation: and many intervening actions (which we shall endeavour to expresse particularly) did so far heighten them, and sharpen, by degrees, the style, till those Paper-contestations became a fatal Prologue to that bloody and unnatural War which afterward ensued.

The King, to answer that Remonstrance before mentioned, published a Declaration to justify his own Honour and Government; and at the same time sent a Message to the Common-Council of *London*, complaining of tumultuary assemblies of People from the City, daily resorting to *Westminster*, to the disturbance of that place, and his Palace of *White-hall*.

For people about that time, in great numbers, used to present Petitions to the Parliament, and make Protestations of their fidelity to them, in these times of fears and jealousies, which grew now so great that the House of Commons, upon the same day that the King sent that complaining Message to the City, Petitioned him to allow them a Guard for security of their Persons while they sate: alledging in the Petition that there was a *Malignant Party bitterly envenomed against them, who did daily gather strength and confidence, and were now come to that height of boldnesse, as to give-out insolent and menacing speeches against the Parliament itselfe*. It was therefore their humble desires that they might have a Guard out of the City, commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, Lord-Chamberlain of his Majesties Houshold, of whose fidelity to King and Common-wealth no question was ever made.

Which

Which Petition was denied by the King; but with a solemn engagement of himself by the *Word of a King*, that the security of all, and every one of them, from violence was, and ever should be, as much his care, as the preservation of himself and his Children; and, if this general assurance would not suffice to remove these apprehensions, he would command such a Guard to waite upon them, as he would be responsible for to *Almighty God*.

The next day after that the King had thus answered the Petition of the House, being the fourth of *January*, 1641, he gave unhappily a just occasion for all men to think that their fears and jealousies were not causelesse. For upon that day the King came to the Parliament in Person, attended with a great number of Gentlemen, Souldiers, and others armed with Swords and Pistols, to the number of about three hundred, who came-up to the very door of the House of Commons, and placed themselves there, and in all passages neer unto it: The King in Person entered the House of Commons, and demanded five Members of that House to be delivered to him. The manner of it was, seating himself in the Speaker's Chair, he asked him whether those five Members were there, or not? The Speaker, Mr. WILLIAM LENTHALL, returned to his Majesty an humble and discreet answer, "That he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to answer, any thing, but what he was commanded by the House."

The names of those Members whom he demanded were, Mr. DENZILL HOLLIS, second Sonne to the Earl of *Clare*, Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, Mr. PYM, Mr. HAMDEN, and Mr. STRODE: All Gentlemen of great esteem and reputation in the House: Two of whom, Mr. HOLLIS, and Mr. STRODE, had before suffered many years of sharp and harsh imprisonment from the King (after the dissolution of that Parliament, in the fourth year of his Reign,) for matters done in Parliament; which was contrary to the Priviledges of that High Court. The King had the day before, by his Attorney General, Sir EDWARD HERBERT, (a Member also of the House of Commons,) demanded the deliverance of those five forementioned Gentlemen; and sent a Sergeant at Armes to apprehend them, pretending that he meant to charge them, and together with them, the Lord MANDEVILLE, (eldest son to the Earl of *MANCHESTER*,) a Member of the House of Lords, with Articles of High Treason, and other misdemeanors, which Articles were to this purpose;

1. That they had endeavoured to subvert the Government, to deprive the King of his legal power and to place on Subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power.

2. That they had endeavoured, by foule aspersions upon his Majesties Government, to alienate the affections of his people from him.

3. That they endeavoured to draw His late Army from His Obedience, to side with them in traiterous Designes.

N 2

4. That

4. *That they trayterously invited and encouraged a forraigne power to invade His Majesties kingdom of England.*

5. *That they trayterously endeavoured to subvert the very Rights and Beings of Parliament.*

6. *That they have endeavoured, by force and terror, to compel the Parliament to joyne with them in their trayterous designs, and to that end have actually raised and countenanced tumults against the King and Parliament.*

7. *That they have trayterously conspired to Levy, and actually have Levyed, Warre against the King.*

But the House of Commons, hearing this demand, to prevent such further breaches of Parliament-Priviledges as might ensue upon the same day, ordered upon the Question; *That, if any persons should come to the lodgings of any member of that House, and there offer to seale their Trunkes or Doors, or to seize upon their Persons, That then such Members should require the aide of the Constable to keep such persons in safe custody, till the House did give further Order. And they further declared, That, if any Person should offer to arrest, or detain, the Person of any Member of that House, without first acquainting the House therewith, and receiving further order from thence; that it should be lawful for such a Member, or any Person in his assistance, to stand upon his, and their, guard of defence, and to make resistance, according to the Protestation taken to defend the Priviledges of Parliaments.*

These things had passed the day before that the King had so entered into the House of Commons. His Majesty finding those five Members were not there (for they, by consent of the House, upon some informations of what would happen, had absented themselves) from the Speaker's Chair, where he sate, made a Speech to the House, wherein he told them, That he was very sorry for that occasion; but yet, *no King of England that ever was, should be more careful to maintain the Priviledges of Parliament than he would be; that those five Members were dangerous men; but he protested, in the word of a King, That he never intended any force; but to proceed against them in a legal and fair way. But sithence he could not now do that which he came for, he would trouble them no more; but expected, as soon as those five members came to the House, that the House would send them to him: or else he would take his own course to find them.*

But this great breach of Priviledges of Parliament was encreased by many circumstances. For the day before, being the third of *January*, contrary to the forementioned order of the House of Commons, the Chambers, Studies, and Trunks

Trunks of those five Members, by a Warrant from the King, were sealed-up ; Sir WILLIAM KILLIGREW, and Sir WILLIAM FLEMEN, with others, being employed in that service. And within two dayes after, upon the sixth of *January*, a Proclamation was made by the King for the apprehending and imprisoning of those five Members; wherein it was suggested, that, through the conscience of their own guilt, they were absent and fled, not willing to submit themselves to justice.

Whereupon the House of Commons, in vindication of their own Priviledges and those five Gentlemen, published, within a few dayes after, a Declaration ; in which that Proclamation of the King's (entituled there, *A Printed Paper*) is declared to be false, scandalous, and illegal; and that, notwithstanding the said Printed Paper, or any Warrant issued-out, or any other matter yet appearing against them, or any of them, they may and ought to attend the service of the said House of Commons, and the several Committees then on foot : And that it was lawful for all Persons to lodge, harbour, or converse with them, or any of them; and that whosoever should be questioned for the same, should be under the protection and Priviledge of Parliament.

The House of Commons further declared, That the publishing of several Articles purporting a form of a Charge of High Treason against the Lord MANDEVILL, and the forenamed five Members, by Sir WILLIAM KILLIGREW, Sir WILLIAM FLEMEN, and others, in the Innes of Court, and elsewhere, in the King's name, was an high breach of the priviledge of Parliament, a great scandal to his Majesty and his Government, a seditious act manifestly tending to the subversion of the Peace of the Kingdome, and an injury and dishonour to the same Members, there being no legal charge, or accusation, against them.

Whereas there is mention made in the late recited words of this Declaration, concerning the Innes of Court, we cannot omit, that about the same time (so unhappy a Genius of division reigned among all sorts) there wanted not some men disaffected to the Parliament, who went up and down, perswading the young Gentlemen of the Innes of Court to make offer of their service to the King, as a guard of defence, if any danger threatened his Person. Upon which, divers of those young Gentlemen, to ingratiate themselves, repaired to the Court, and were kindly received by the King and Queen.

The Parliament at that time further declared, That the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Subject, so violated and broken, could not be fully and sufficiently vindicated, unlesse his Majesty would be pleased to discover the names of those persons, who advised his Majesty to issue-out such Warrants for sealing of the Chambers and Studies of the said five Members; to send a Sergeant at Armes to the House of Commons to demand those members; to issue-out Warrants for their apprehension; to come thither himself in Person; to publish Articles in the forme of a Proclamation against the said Members in the fore-declared manner; to the end that all such persons, who advised him to these actions, might receive condigne punishment.

According to this, the Houses humbly desired his Majesty that he would so far

far satisfy their just and legal request, as to let them know those informers; (for the Law, in two several Statutes, provides that satisfaction, that, if, in time of Parliament, the King accuse a Member of the same, of what crime soever, he ought to signify to the Parliament, who were the informers;) but the King refused to do it. Upon which the House of Commons examined his Attorney-General, Sir EDWARD HERBERT, who had preferred the aforesaid Articles; he confessed nothing to them concerning any other Person, or informer; but only that he received the Command from the King himself, and knew nothing further of it. The same the King testified concerning the said Attorney in a Letter to the Lord-Keeper; wherein he justifieth the Attorney's action, as being no otherwise than the duty of a servant required. But the Parliament made another judgement of it; as namely, that Sir EDWARD HERBERT had broken the Privilege of Parliament in preferring the said Articles, and done an illegal act; upon which he was committed to prison.

The City of London
petition the King.

These actions of the King did exceedingly afflict all honest Protestants, especially at such a time, when the affairs of bleeding *Ireland* did so much, and so speedily, require the assistance of *England*; which must needs, by these unhappy distractions, be retarded; and the total losse of the Protestant Cause there much endangered. But the City of *London* was not the least sensible of it; who, in a deep and sorrowful apprehension of this designe, Petitioned the King, with an expression of all the feares and dangers which they conceived themselves in at that time. The things which they enumerate in their Petition are, *That his Majesty had put out a Person of Honour and Trust from being Lieutenant of the Tower; That he had lately fortified Whitehall with men and munition in an unusual manner: Some of which men had abused, with provoking language, and with drawn swords wounded, divers unarmed Citizens passing-by.* To explain this branch of their Petition, the Reader must be informed, That the King, the very next day after he had entred the House of Commons, as aforesaid, went in his Coach into the City of *London*, whither he had heard that those five Members had retired themselves; and was everywhere humbly entreated by the Citizens, in flocks about his Coach, That he would be pleased to agree with his Parliament, and not infringe the Privilege thereof. The King, perceiving which way the affections of the City went, returned again to *White-hall*, where he staid about a week after. During which time (by what advice, or to what intention, I cannot tell,) he built there a little Court of Guard, and entertained some Gentlemen, and others, who, as the Petition declares, gave those affronts to divers Citizens that passed-by. They complain likewise in the Petition of *the late endeavours used to the Innes of Court: the calling-in divers Canoniers, and other assistants into the Tower: the late discovery of divers Fire-works in the hands of a Papist.* But most of all (say they) our feares are encreased by your Majesties late going into the House of Commons, attended with a great number of armed men, besides your ordinary Guard, for apprehending divers Members of that House, to the endangering of your sacred Person, and of the Persons and Priviledges of that Honourable Assembly. The effects of all which feares tend, not only to the overthrow of the whole

whole trade of this City and Kingdom ; which your Petitioners already feel in a deep measure ; but also to the utter ruine of the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of all your loyal Subjects. The Petitioners therefore most humbly pray your sacred Majesty, that, by the advice of your great Council in Parliament, the Protestants in Ireland may be speedily relieved, the Tower put into the hands of Persons of Trust, that, by removal of doubtful and unknown Persons from about White-hall and Westminster, a known and approved Guard may be appointed for the safety of your Majesty and Parliament ; and that the Lord MANDEVILL, and the five Members of the House of Commons lately accused, may not be restrained of Liberty, or proceeded-against otherwise than according to the Priviledges of Parliament.

The King, though he conceived this petition (as himself expressed) of an unusual nature, yet willing to give content to the City, returned a Gracious Answer to their particulars ; That for *Ireland*, he conceived he had expressed as much care on his part as possibly he could, and would not fail for the future. What he had done concerning the Tower, had been to satisfie their fears before, in displacing one of good Trust, and putting-in another of unquestionable Reputation ; and what preparation of strength soever he made there, was with as great an eye of safety and advantage to the City, as to his own Person. For his Guard entertained at *White-hall*, he alledged the disorderly and tumultuous conflux of people to *Westminster*, to the danger of his Royal Person, not punished at all by course of Law ; and, if any Citizens were wounded, he was assured it happened by their own ill demeanours : that he knew no other endeavours to the Innes of Court, than a gracious Intimation, that he accepted the tender of their loyal affections, encouraging them to continue the same upon all occasions. That he knew of no Fire-works in the hands of Papists. For his going to the House of Commons, that he intended no course of violence, though that way had been justifiable ; for he was assured that no Priviledge of Parliament could extend to Treason ; which, he knew, would be proved against them upon clear grounds ; and they in due time should be acquainted with it ; and that his proceedings against them should be according to the Lawes.

The King, presently after his answering of that Petition, sent another Message to the Parliament, that, for the present, he would wave his proceedings against those five Members ; and returned a gentle Answer at that time to the Petitioners of *Buckinghamshire*, who came, to the number of about 2000, in behalf of their Knight, Mr. HAMPDEN, a Gentleman much honoured by them, and by most of the whole Kingdom ; in which Petition they prayed that Mr. HAMPDEN, and the rest, that lie under the burden of that accusation, might enjoy the just priviledges of Parliament.

It was then grown a custom, which proved accidentally very unhappie to the Kingdom, (however it were meant,) to come in great numbers to *Westminster*, when they presented Petitions to the Parliament ; though the people petitioning were unarmed, and no just fear from them in the opinion of those who affected the Parliament ;

ment; yet those who thought themselves not well relished by the people in general, took occasion from thence, either to fear indeed, or at least to pretend fear, alledging that the Parliament was disturbed by such a numerous confluence of people, and the freedom of the Houses in some degree infringed, that some of the meaner sort were too apt to cast-out rude words against such as they thought to be no good members of the Common-wealth, of what degree soever they were.

From hence was occasion taken by some, to justify that Guard about Whitehall, and afterwards to excuse the King's absenting himself from the Parliament: And from this ground did the twelve Bishops, about a week before this City-Petition, frame their Petition and Protestation (for so it was called) to His Majesty and the Peers, which was to this Purpose:

A Protestation of twelve Bishops against all proceedings in the House of Lords since the 27th of December, 1641.

They protested themselves to abominate all actions or opinions tending to Poperie, or any Malignity against the State; but were willing and ready to perform their duties in Parliament: But, whereas, coming to perform that duty and service, they have been rudely menaced, affronted, and put in fear of their lives by multitudes of people, and can finde no redresse or protection upon complaint made, they therefore humbly protest before His Majestie and the noble Peers, that, saving to themselves all their Rights and Interests of sitting and voting in that House at other times, they dare not sit, or vote, in the House of Peers, until his Majestie shall further secure them. And, because their fears are not vain, but upon true grounds and objects, they do, in all duty and humility, therefore protest before his Majestie and the Peers, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as in themselves null, and of none effect, which in their absence, since the 27th of this instant December, 1641, have already passed, as likewise against all such as shall hereafter passe, during this their enforced absence from the said House. Which Protestation they desired the King to command the Clerk of that House to record.

The Lords of Parliament immediately delivered by the mouth of the Lord Keeper, at a Conference, to the House of Commons, That seeing this Protestation was of dangerous consequence, and deeply entrenching upon the fundamental Priviledges and Being of Parliament, therefore they thought fit to communicate it to the House of Commons. The Commons thanked their Lordships for imparting it to them with so much affection and speed, and for expressing their sense thereof; and came to this resolution, To accuse those twelve Bishops of high Treason.

In consequence of this Protestation they are accused of High Treason by the Commons, and committed to prison.

Master GLYNN, therefore, was sent to the Lords; who, at their Bar, in the name of all the Commons of England, accused those twelve Prelates of high Treason, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the very Being

Being of Parliaments; and to desire the Lords that they might be forthwith sequestered from Parliament, and put into safe custodie; and that their Lordships would appoint a speedie day for the Commons to charge them. The Lords instantly sent the Black-Rod to finde out these Bishops, and apprehend them: so that by eight of the clock at night they were all taken, and brought upon their knees to the Bar, and ten of them committed to the Tower: two of them, in regard of their age, were committed to the Black-Rod. The twelve Bishops were these: Jo. Eborac. THOMAS Duresme, ROBERT Coven. and Lichfield, Jos. Norwich, Jo. Asaph, GUIL. Bath & Wells, GEO. Hereford, ROB. Oxon. MATTH. Ely, GODFREY Gloucester, Jo. Peterborough, MOR. Landaff.

Such work as this was daily made to the Parliament of *England*; whereby not onely the relief of *Ireland* was wholly obstructed, but all redresse of the grievances of *England*, and settlement of the State there, was so long retarded, till both Kingdoms were at last involved in the same War and Confusion. It was a strange thing that so barbarous and bloody a Rebellion should break-out in *Ireland*, without any the least suspicion or fear of such a Calamity, without any cause given by the innocent English Protestants: and surely it may seem as strange a thing, if well considered, that the revenge of so horrid and inhumane a Massacre should be thus hindered; and indeed it might be thought almost impossible, unlesse the raising of the one, and hindering the other, proceeded from the same cause.

Of the condition of
Ireland, in Decem-
ber, 1641.

There was a great hope about the beginning of *December*, that *Ireland* would speedily be relieved, and Forces transported out of *Scotland* within a short time to that purpose, considering what careful provisions the Parliament of *England* (as is before related) had made upon the first notice of it. But at that time the King was returned from *Scotland*; and in a Speech to the Parliament, in which he conjured them to proceed in the businesse of relieving *Ireland*, he likewise took notice of a Bill for pressing of Souldiers for *Ireland*, depending in the House of Peers, and declared his dislike of putting it in that way; being, as he said, a great infringement and diminution of his Royal Prerogative; telling them withal, that he was little beholding to that man, who began such a dispute concerning the bounds of his ancient and undoubted Prerogative. But he offered at last that the Bill might passe with a *Salvo jure* both to King and People, leaving such debates to a time that might better bear it.

This Speech of the King's was much distasted by both Houses, as a great breach of Parliament-priviledge, insomuch as they framed a Petition to him, wherein they expresse, That the King, by taking notice of the debate in the House of Lords concerning a Bill for pressing of Souldiers, had broken the fundamental Priviledge of Parliament, which is, that *he ought not to take notice of any matter in agitation or debate in either House, but by their information and agreement; and that he ought not to propound any condition, or limitation, to a Bill in debate and preparation, or to manifest his approbation, or dislike, of the same, until it be presented to his Majestie in due course of Parliament; and that every particular Member, of*

either

either House, hath free liberty of speech, to propound or debate matters according to Order of Parliament; and that the King ought not to conceive displeasure against him for such opinions or propositions. They intreated likewise a reparation for that great breach of Priviledge; and for prevention of the like, that the King would make known who they were, by whose mis-information and evil counsel he had done it, that they might receive condign punishment.

An English regiment
is landed at Dublin
on the 31st of De-
cember, 1641.

This businesse took-up some time, and was one unhappie impediment to the sudden relief of *Ireland*, notwithstanding the high necessities of that Kingdom, and the affections of *England* in general to it; and so heavily went-on all preparations, that it was long before the House of Commons could finde means to enable the Lord-Lieutenant to send-over so much as one Regiment, for defence of the Castle and City of *Dublin*, which was commanded by a worthy Gentleman, Sir SIMON HARCOURT; who being designed Governour of the City of *Dublin*, was sent-away by Order of Parliament with his Regiment, and landed there on the last day of *December*, 1641, to the great comfort of that City, being much distressed and terrified by the neer approach of the Irish Rebels.

Another obstruction of the relief of *Ireland* happened about three weeks after, when the Scots delivered eight Propositions to the English Parliament, touching the sending-over of Two thousand five hundred Scots, which were then in readinesse, into the north of *Ireland*. Both Houses of Parliament consented to all the Propositions; but the King excepted against one of them, being the third, which was, *That the Scots desired to have the keeping of the Town and Castle of Carrickfergus, with power to remain there, or enlarge their Quarters at discretion; and, if any Regiments, or Troops, in that Province should joyn with them, that they receive Orders from the chief Commander of the Scottish Forces.* Against this Article the King took exceptions, and desired the Houses to take it again into consideration, as a thing of importance, which he doubted might be prejudicial to *England*: But, if the House desired it should be so, himself would speak with the Scottish Commissioners, to see what satisfaction he could give them therein. The Scots told his Majestie, that, since it was agreed-upon by both Houses of Parliament, and that the strength of his Majesties argument was, "That article implied too great a Trust for Auxiliary Forces," they were in good hope that his Majestie, being their native King, would not shew lesse trust in them, than their neighbour-Nation had freely done. Upon which the King at last was content to admit the Article, and the advice of his Parliament.

This fatal obstruction of *Ireland's* relief did but second another immediately before: For at the first, the Commissioners of *Scotland* had not power given them from the State there, to treat for sending-over a lesse number than ten thousand men; which the Lords were unwilling to yeeld to. But that obstacle seemed to be removed by the zealous affection of the House of Commons; who according to those Instructions of the State of *Scotland* to their Commissioners, voted the sending-over of ten thousand Scots. But the House of Lords, after long debate, would

would not yeeld unto it, unlesse the House of Commons would give assurance that ten thousand English might be as speedily sent-over : which the Commons as much desired, and promised their endeavour in it ; but that the English then could not be so soon raised, much lesse transported, as the Scots, every man understood. There was no other reason given, that ever I understood, but onely That it was dishonourable for *England*, that *Ireland* should be reduced by the Scots : and this was the discourse of Papists, and other persons disaffected to the Cause, among the people every where.

Though it were much wondered-at by all good Protestants, that so nice a point of Honour should be stood-upon, when their Religion and Cause lay bleeding in *Ireland* after so sad and deplorable a kinde ; which began to deject the spirits of the poor Protestants in *Ireland*, and make them suspect some secret workings under-hand against the good affections expressed by the House of Commons, and those Lords who were well-affected to the State : for they by the greater number were over-voted, so many Popish and ill-affected Lords, besides four and twenty Bishops (for the Bishops voices in Parliament were not then taken-away) sitting in that House.

It was then also generally talked, and much complained-of among the well-affected people, that the King had been so backward in proclaiming those barbarous Irish, Rebels : and not onely talked among the people, but alledged by the Parliament itselfe (in their own Declaration afterward, when the breach between King and Parliament grew greater) as a signe that those inhumane Rebels had been countenanced by the Court of England, in that the Proclamation whereby they were declared Traitors, was so long with-held, as till the first of January, though the Rebellion broke-forth in October before ; and then no more than fourty Copies were appointed to be printed, with a special command from His Majestie not to exceed that number ; and that none of them should be published, till the King's pleasure were further signified, as by the Warrant appears, a true copie whereof was printed : so that a few onely could take notice of it. And this (say they) was made more observable by the late contrary proceedings against the Scots, who were in a very quick and sharp manner proclaimed, and those Proclamations forth-with dispersed with as much diligence as might be, thorow all the Kingdom ; and ordered to be read in every Church, accompanied with Publike Prayers and Execrations.

The King seems very unwilling to proclaim the Popish insurgents in Ireland to be rebels.

That Declaration of the Lords and Commons, in which this is expressed concerning the King's slowe proclaiming of the Irish Rebels, was published when the King was gone to *York* ; at which he was much distasted in many particulars, and returned Answer to them. Among others, because that of *Ireland* seemed to lie heavie upon his reputation, it is just that the Reader should see the King's own

Answer to that point, that he may the more fairly judge ; which shall be therefore inserted, in the very words of the King's Declaration.

To countenance those unhandsome expressions whereby usually they have implied Our connivence at, or want of zeal against, the Rebellion of Ireland, (so odious to all good men) they have found a new way of exprobatation, That the Proclamation against those bloodie Traitors came not out till the beginning of January, though that Rebellion broke-out in October; and then by special Command from Us, but forty Copies were appointed to be printed. It is well known where we were at that time, when that Rebellion broke-forth, in Scotland;—that we immediately from thence recommended the care of that businesse to both Houses of Parliament here, after We had provided for all fitting Supplies from our Kingdom of Scotland;—that after Our return hither, We observed all those Forms for that service, which We were advised-to by Our Council of Ireland, or both Houses of Parliament here: and if no Proclamation issued-out sooner (of which for the present We are not certain, but think that others before that time were issued by Our directions,) it was, because the Lords-Justices of that Kingdom desired them no sooner; and when they did, the number they desired was but twenty, which they advised might be signed by Us; which we for expedition of the service, commanded to be printed (a circumstance not desired by them) thereupon we signed more of them than Our Justices desired:—all which was very well known to some Members of one or both Houses of Parliament, who have the more to answer, if they forbore to expresse it at the passing of this Declaration; and, if they did expresse it, We have the greater reason to complain, that so envious an aspersion should be cast upon Us to Our People, when they knew well how to answer their own Objection.

This was the King's Answer to that point of the Parliament's Declaration concerning Ireland. But the House of Commons, in another Declaration, though long after, charge the King upon the same particular, with more circumstances of aggravation: as, *That, although the Rebels had most impudently styled themselves The Queen's Army, and professed that the cause of their rising was, "To maintain the King's Prerogative, and the Queen's Religion, against the Puritan Parliament of England;" and thereupon both Houses of Parliament did humbly and earnestly advise His Majestie to wipe-away this dangerous Scandal, by proclaiming them Rebels and Traitors to His Majestie and the Crown of England, which then would have mated and weakned the Conspirators in the beginning,*
and

and have encouraged both the Parliaments here, and good people there, the more vigorously to have opposed their proceedings: yet such was the power of evil council about him, that no Proclamation was set-forth to that purpose, till almost three months after the breaking-out of this Rebellion; and then Command given that but forty should be printed, nor they published, till further direction should be given by His Majestie.— But the businesse of *Ireland* was more particularly touched in subsequent Declarations, which in their due time and place may hereafter be related.

That Proclamation against the Irish Rebels, came not out above two days before the King entred the House of Commons, as is before expressed; by which act so great a disturbance was made, and the relief of *Ireland* so much retarded.

It was likewise complained of to the King by the House of Commons, within three weeks after, that, since the Ports by order of both Houses (as is before mentioned) had been stopped against all Irish Papists, many of the chief Commanders, then in the Head of the Rebels, had been suffered to passe by His Majesties immediate Warrant. Of which the King cleared himself, in Answer to them, that by examining his own memory, and the notes of his Secretaries, he could not finde himself guilty of granting any such Warrants.

CHAP. III.

The Queen passeth into Holland, with her daughter the Princesse MARY. Difference between the King and Parliament concerning the Militia. The King goeth toward York, and is followed with a Petition from the Lords and Commons to Theobalds, and another Declaration to Newmarket. The King is denied entrance into Hull by Sir JOHN HOTHAM.

A proposal of a Fund for suppressing the Rebellion in Ireland, in February, 1641, 2.

An act of Parliament is made for that purpose.

IT was wonderful that nothing at all could advance, or further, this great and necessary work of reducing *Ireland*, when so many courses were propounded and undertaken : as about the middle of *February*, both Houses of Parliament had found a way, which they conceived to be most substantial and firm to carry-on that War; namely, by adventuring for proportions of Land in *Ireland*; there being, by their account, within the four Provinces of *Ulster*, *Connaught*, *Munster* and *Leinster* two millions and an half of Acres of Land forfeitable from the Rebels in those Provinces, to be shared among those Adventurers in the City of *London*, or other Counties thereabout, that would bring-in, or subscribe, such Sums of money as were thought fit, and which were, upon good and serious consideration, set-down in particular; whereby, if an happie Conquest were made upon those bloody Rebels, a large recompence might be made to all those English who either in Person or Purse had contributed to so good a work. The King was well contented with these Propositions, offering withal to go himself in Person into *Ireland* (but that was not thought fitting by the Parliament); and so far it passed, that an Act was made to that purpose, enabling the Parliament with power to carry-on that War, until *Ireland* should be declared to be wholly subdued; and that no Peace, or Cessation of Arms, should be at any time made with those Rebels, unless both Houses of Parliament assented to it.

But while these things were acting, other businesse, wherein the safety and security

security of *England* was concerned, fell into debate; which was touching the *Militia* of the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, to be settled in every County upon such persons as the Parliament should approve. A petition to this purpose was sent to the King, presently after they had received a Message from him, dated the twentieth of *January*, wherein the King in fair language desires the Parliament, since that particular Grievances and Distractions were too many, and would be too tedious to be presented by themselves, that they would comprise and digest them into one entire Body, that so *His Majestie* and themselves might be able to make the more clear Judgement of them; and that it should then appear, by what *His Majestie* would do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things, which the too-great fears and jealousies of some persons, seem to apprehend; and how ready he would be to equal, or exceed, the greatest examples of most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to the People.

Disputes concerning the Militia of England, January 20, 1641, 2.

A message from the King to the Parliament, January 20, 1641, 2.

This Message was received with thanks by the Parliament, who resolved to take it into speedie and serious consideration. But to enable them with security to discharge their duties in those affairs, they desired the King to raise-up to them a sure ground of safety and confidence, by putting in the mean time the Tower, with other principal Forts, and the whole *Militia* of the Kingdom, into the hands of such persons as the Parliament might trust, and should be recommended to him by both Houses. This Petition of theirs was not well relished by the King, as appeared by his Answer. But the thing was of so great consequence, that one Answer could not suffice.

The Parliament sends a Petition to the King in answer to it.

Many re-iterated Petitions were presented, and many Answers returned upon this subject, which are extant upon Record; where the King often promiseth to be careful, that no hands, but those who are very faithful to the Common-wealth, shall be by him entrusted with any part of the *Militia*; but the nomination of any persons to those places he will reserve to himself, it being a principal and inseparable flower of his Crown, vested in him, and derived to him from his Ancestors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. The Parliament on the other side affirming, that nothing could enable them to suppress the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and secure themselves, but the instant granting of that humble Petition; which they hoped the King would not absolutely deny: That it was their duty to him and the Common-wealth, to represent unto him whatsoever they found so absolutely necessary; for the preservation of both which, the Laws both of God and man enjoyn them to see it put in execution.

During the debate of this businesse, and before any absolute conclusion was made of it, the King took a journey to *Canterbury*; upon what reasons, shall be anon declared. It was before related, that the King, after his entring into the House of Commons to surprise the five Members, had stayed a week at *Whitehall*, and then retired to *Hampton-Court*; the next day after, divers Citizens, with a great shew of Boats, and Guns in them, brought the five Members to *Westminster*, with many expressions that they would not forsake them, who sate to defend their Religion, Laws and Liberties.

The

The King, now resident at *Hampton-Court*, seemed extremely distasted at the Citie, and pretended the reasons of his absence from Parliament to be fear for his Person, by reason of Tumults that might be raised : but true it is, after this time, he never could be brought neer the Citie, or Parliament, either in body or minde.

Within few days after the King had been at *Hampton-Court*, he sent for divers of his servants, who were then Members of the Parliament, to leave the House, and give their attendance upon his Person : But two, the chief of them, ROBERT Earl of *Essex*, lately made Lord Chamberlain of his Houshold, and HENRY Earl of *Holland*, Groom of the Stool, chose rather to obey his Writ, whereby they were called to assist in Parliament about the highest affairs of *England*, than to obey this private Command of his, to come and attend at *Hampton-Court*, alledging in excuse, that their attendance in Parliament was truer service to him as King, than any other could be. For this, the King presently after sent a Messenger to demand the Staff of the one, and the Key of the other, being the Ensignes of their Offices ; which they willingly resigned to the Messenger's hands.

The King and Queen go to Canterbury and Dover, with the Princess Mary, their daughter, in the middle of February, 1641, 2.

From *Hampton-Court*, about the midst of *February*, the King and Queen went to *Canterbury*, and so to *Dover*, with the Princesse MARY their eldest daughter, married, not a yeer before, to WILLIAM, son to the Prince of *Orange*. The Queen herself passed from thence into *Holland*, under pretext of keeping her daughter company to her husband, (the Lady was then about ten yeers of age) which was not at all hindered by the Parliament. But the Queen carried with her all, or the greatest part of, the Crown-Jewels of *England*, which immediately she pawned in *Holland*, and with that money bought Arms and Ammunition for that sad War which ensued not long after, between the King and the Parliament of *England*.

The King at Canterbury gives his royal assent to a Bill for taking-away the Bishops right of Voting in Parliament.

The King's stay at *Canterbury* and *Dover* was not long, nor the places so remote, but that some businesse might passe, though with great trouble of those Lords, and others, Members of the House of Commons, who posted between, upon all occasions. The greatest thing which was done in that time, was that the King at *Canterbury* signed the Bill for taking-away Bishops Votes in Parliament.

A Petition from the Parliament is presented to the King at Theobald's in Hertfordshire, on the 1st of March, 1641-2.

When the Queen and her daughter had taken Sail, the King came back to *Greenwich*, whither he sent for the Prince and Duke of *York* to come to him, and attend him in his journey to the City of *York*, which was the place which he intended to reside at, and to that purpose immediately went on his way as far as *Theobalds* ; to which place he was followed with a Petition from both Houses, presented to him upon the first of *March* 1641. The substance of it was, to intreat his Majestie that he would at last be pleased to grant their necessary Petition concerning the *Militia* of *England* ; which if he did refuse, in these times of distraction, they must be enforced, and did resolve, to dispose of it for the safety of the Kingdom, in such manner as had been propounded to his Majestie. They likewise intreated him to continue his abode neer *London*, and his Parliament, and not to take his son, the Prince, out of those parts : and, in conclusion, desired his Majestie to be informed by them, his great Council, that, by the Laws of *England*, the

the power of raising, ordering, and disposing of the *Militia*, within any Citie, Town, or other place, cannot be granted to any Corporation by Charter, or otherwise, without the authority and consent of Parliament.

The King denied to give any other Answer concerning the *Militia*, than what he had before done; That he conceived himself not safe in any place neer *London*; and that he would take such a care of the Prince his son, as should justifie him to God as a Father, and to his Dominions as a King. The King's answer to it.

The Parliament, upon occasion of that short Answer of the King to their Petition, voted presently that that Answer was a flat Denial; and that all was truth which they had averred in their Petition, concerning the danger of his removal so far from the Parliament, and likewise carrying of his son away. It was likewise ordered by the Lords and Commons, that the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord-Admiral, should give speedie directions for all the Ships belonging to the Navie Royal, to be speedily rigged, and fitted for the service of the Common-wealth. Proceedings of the Parliament thereupon.

A Declaration was drawn then by both Houses, and presented to the King at *Newmarket*, upon the ninth of *March*, by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Holland*, with some Members of the House of Commons, wherein were represented to him some of the old Grievances expressed in the first Remonstrance at his return out of *Scotland*: as, That the designe of altering Religion had been carried-on by those of greatest authority about him, for divers yeeres: That the War against *Scotland* was procured in order to that designe: That the Rebellion in *Ireland* was contrived here in *England*, out of many presumptions gathered from several examinations there. They speak likewise of his attempt for bringing his Army against the Parliament, of which before mention was made; of his Warrants granted, contrary to promise, for transportation of *JERMYN*, *DIGBY*, and other Delinquents; of that great breach of Parliament-Priviledge, in coming to the House of Commons to surprise those Members: by all which they endeavour to prove their fears and jealousies to be grounded upon true substantial reasons, and necessary for the safety of the Common-wealth entrusted to them; and that the King's fear to reside neer *London*, is altogether without ground, and pretended for nothing but to perplex the Common-wealth, proceeding from evil and traiterous Counsels; affirming, that His Majesties absence would cause men to believe, that it was out of designe to discourage the undertakers, and hinder the other provisions for relieving *Ireland*; that it would hearten the Rebels there, and all dis-affected persons in this Kingdom. A Declaration of the Parliament is presented to the King at Newmarket, March 9, 1641-2.

The King expressed much indignation when he received this Remonstrance, complaining of the manner of it, that it was onely an upbraiding, not an invitation or perswasion of him to return to the Parliament; and told them, that in all *ARISTOTLE*'s Rhetoricks there was no such argument of Perswasion; and that he would answer it in another Declaration, which, within few days after, was drawn-up, and published; wherein, with deep protestations, he vindicates the truth of his Religion, and justifies his other proceedings, denying those Warrants for transporting The King publishes a Declaration in answer to it.

porting Master JERMYN, and others, in that manner which they urge them: taxes them with their needlesse fears, and uncertain expressions of advertisements from *Rome, Venice, Paris*, and other places: recites the many gracious Acts which he had already passed this Parliament, to satisfie his People; and protests, in conclusion, that he is most desirous to reside near his Parliament, and would immediately return to *London*, if he could see, or hear of, any provisions made for his security.

The King sends the Parliament another message from *Huntingdon*, March 15, 1641-2.

The King sent them another Message from *Huntingdon*, on the 15th of *March*, being then upon his removal to the City of *York*; wherein he expresses his care of *Ireland*, and not to break the Priviledge of Parliament; but chiefly, to let them know that he understands his own Rights; forbidding them to presume, upon any pretence of Order, or Ordinance, (to which he is no party) concerning the *Militia*, or any other thing, to do, or execute, what is not warranted by those Laws; and, withal, recommending to them the substance of his Message of the twentieth of *January* last; that they compose and digest with all speed, such Acts as they shall think fit, for the present, and future, establishment of their Priviledges.

These were the heads of some Declarations, Petitions, and Answers: for about this time, and for three months after, such Messages, Remonstrances, Petitions and Answers, grew so voluminous, upon all occasions, as might, recited *vebatim*, make a large History.

The King goes to *York*.

Thus is the King gone to *York*, while the Parliament sit at *London*, declaring in vain, and voting (as they did upon receipt of his last Message) by consent of both Houses,

Votes of both Houses of Parliament thereupon.

1. *That, the King's absence so far remote from his Parliament, is not onely an obstruction, but may be a destruction, to the affairs of Ireland.*

2. *That, when the Lords and Commons, in Parliament, shall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not onely questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a Command that it should not be obeyed, is an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.*

3. *That they which advised the King to absent himself from the Parliament, are enemies to the peace of this Kingdom, and justly to be suspected as favourers of the Rebellion in Ireland.*

It may seem strange to a Reader, that the King, without any, but such bootlesse opposition as Pen and Paper can make against him, even in the sight and notice of a Parliament, whilst they not onely beheld his actions, but seemed to discern the designes, and foresee the effects which would flow from them, could be able to carry the work on so clearly and so far, until the whole Kingdom were thereby involved in a most calamitous and destructive War. I will not presume to publish any

any opinion of mine own, how, or when, this ruine of the Kingdom should have been prevented ; but onely relate what was then done, that posterity hereafter may judge of it.

It was not unknown to the Parliament, at least not unsuspected, (for it was usually talked among the people of that time) that the Queen, when she passed into *Holland*, carried with her the Crown-Jewels, to pawn, or sell, there : which, if she did, they could not be ignorant what the intention was, or what the effect was like to prove ; nor could it be unknown to them how unlawful the act was, and therefore how fit to be prevented. For they indicted her afterwards of High Treason for that fact, and were able to tell the world, in a Declaration, how great a crime it is in a King himself to make-away the Ornaments of the Crown, and, in particular, the Jewels of it ; yea, in such Kings as did it onely to spend, or give-away, not to maintain War against their own People ; for whose preservation not onely those Jewels, but whatsoever else they possesse, was first bestowed on them.

They seemed to oppose the Prince's departure from *Hampton-Court*, to attend the King his Father into the North, because it might increase fears and jealousies in the People : but the King carried him away.

Above all the rest, they were not ignorant how wonderful an obstruction to all businesse of Parliament, and to the settling of *England*, or relieving of *Ireland*, that far removal of the King's Person from the Parliament must needs prove, and which themselves sufficiently expressed : That the very Journey itself, though no worse designe were in it, was in no kinde excusable, as being most inconvenient, for the reasons aforesaid, and convenient in nothing that was ever alledged for it. Yet the King passed quietly thither.

One designe of the King, which, indeed, was thought the chief of that his Northern Expedition, was prevented by the Parliament by an open and forcible way ; which was, the seizing upon the strong Town and Fort of *Hull*, with all that Magazine of Arms which was there deposited. But it was very remarkable what means had been used on both sides, to prevent, if it had been possible, that open denial of the King's entrance into *Hull*, and that the matter should not have come so far ; Which the King conceived so great an affront to him, that it grew the subject of many large and voluminous Declarations afterward, from either Part.

For the prevention of that, before it happened, the King from *York* had sent a Message to the Parliament, upon the eighth of *April* 1642, that he intended to go in Person over into *Ireland*, to chastise, by force of Arms, those barbarous and bloodie Rebels ; and to that purpose, he thought fit to advertise the Parliament, that he intended to raise, forthwith, by his Commissions, in the Counties neer *Westchester*, a Guard for his own Person (when he should come into *Ireland*) consisting of two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, which he would arm at *Westchester*, from his Magazine of *Hull*.

But at the same time, the Lords and Commons in Parliament had sent a Petition to the King, for leave to remove the Magazine at *Hull* to the Tower of *London* ; alledging, that the Stores of Arms and Ammunition in the Tower were much

The King intends to take possession of the Town and Fort of *Hull*.

He communicates his intention to the Parliament by a message, April 8, 1642.

The Parliament Petitions the King for leave to remove the Magazine of arms at *Hull*, to the Tower of *London*.

much diminished, and that the necessity of Supplies for the Kingdom of *Ireland* (for which they had been issued from thence) daily increased : That the occasion for which the Magazine was placed at *Hull*, was taken-away, there being no danger now from *Scotland*. They likewise alledged, that it would be kept in the Tower with lesse charge, and more safety, and transported from thence with much more convenience for the service of *Ireland*.

The Parliament appoints Sir John Hotham Governour of the Town and Fort of Hull.

The King seemed very angry at this Petition, alledging, among other things, that, if any of those Arms were designed for *Ulster* or *Leinster*, the conveyance of them would be more easie and convenient from *Hull* than from *London*. But most of all he seemed to be exasperated (for the Parliament had used timely prevention) that they had sent to keep-out from thence the Earl of *Newcastle*, whom the King, in that Answer, termeth *A Person of honour, fortune, and unblemished reputation*, and committed that Town and Fort (without his consent) to the hands of Sir JOHN HOTHAM.

The Parliament, as it appeared by their expression in a Declaration at that time, were much confirmed in that opinion, which they had, of the King's aiming at *Hull*, when he went Northward, by an intercepted letter from the Lord GEORGE DIGBY, dated from *Middleborough*, in *Zealand*, the 20th of *January*, 1641, to Sir LEWIS DIVES, wherein he writes, that, if the King will declare himself, and retire to a safe place, he should be able to wait upon him from thence, as well as out of any part of *England*, over and above the service which he might do for him there in the mean time. The like expressions he used in another Letter to the Queen, intercepted in the same Packet, intimating some service he might do her in those parts; and desired a Cypher, whereby to hold correspondence with her in writing.

Lord Digby takes part with the King against the Parliament.

This young Lord, of whom we spake before, about the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, (a man of excellent parts, and one that had been acceptable to the Parliament, until his Speech about that businesse, and some other miscarriage, detected upon the same occasion,) was much alienated in heart from the Parliament, because that Speech of his (which he had printed against Command) was ordered to be burned by the hands of the Hang-man; so that, afterward, he became a great cherisher, (as appeared in divers things,) of those divisions which were growing between the King and Parliament, and was voted-against in the House of Commons, as a disturber of the publike peace, for appearing armed at *Kingston upon Thames*, in an unusual and illegal manner, with other circumstances thereto belonging. Whereupon, the Lords in Parliament sent for him; and, if he appeared not within twenty days, proclaimed him Traitor. But he in the mean time was transported by Sir JOHN PENNINGTON into *Holland*, by a Warrant under the King's hand, as the Declaration of the Lords and Commons to the King, in *March* following, expressed.

The Parliament settles the Militia of England without the King's concurrence.

During the time that the King and Parliament were (as aforesaid) busied about getting the Magazine of *Hull*, the Parliament proceeded, by degrees, in settling the *Militia* in divers Counties, and putting the Commands into such hands as they reposed confidence in; as likewise to take charge of the Navie, and provide by that means

means against any forraign force that might assault the Kingdom. And, because the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Admiral, by reason of indisposition of health, was disenabled then for commanding the Fleet in his own person, they thereupon recommended to his Lordship the Earl of *Warwick*, (a man of such ability in Sea-affairs, and such untainted reputation, as they durst highly trust) to supply his Lordship's room in that employment. But, understanding that the King had chosen Sir JOHN PENNINGTON into that Command, a Message was sent from both Houses to the King, on the 28th of *March*, to intreat him that the employment might no longer be detained from the Earl of *Warwick*, as a noble person, chosen by both Houses of Parliament in that Service, the Charge whereof was to be born by the Common-wealth.

The King refused to admit of the Earl of *Warwick*, taking great exception at the Message from both Houses, as appeared by his Letter, to the Lord-Keeper, concerning it, that they would take upon them the nominating of the chief Sea-Com-
mander. But the Earl of *Warwick*, within few months after, (though not without some opposition of divers Gentlemen, who had before been placed in Command by the King, and strove to carry-away their Ships to His Majestie,) was possessed of the whole Navie: of which some more particulars may hereafter be related.

The Earl of Warwick, by the appointment of the Parliament, takes upon him the command of the English Navy.

Upon the 23d of *April*, 1642, the King, attended by some Noblemen, and no great train of Gentlemen and Souldiers, came before the walls of *Hull*, to demand entrance there; but he found the Gates shut, and the Bridges drawn-up, by the command of Sir JOHN HOTHAM, a member of the House of Commons, who was, by the Parliament, entrusted with the Government of that Town. Sir JOHN HOTHAM appeared upon the Wall, and, kneeling-down there, intreated his Majestie that he would be pleased not to command that, which he must be enforced (though extremely grieved to disobey his Majesty in any thing) to deny at that time; alledging that he could not admit his Majestie, without breach of trust to the Parliament, beseeching the King to give him leave to send to the Parliament, to acquaint them with his command, and take their direction.

Sir John Hotham refuses to admit the King into the Town of Hull, April 23, 1642.

The King, upon this denial, grew into choler, and, after some hot words, seeming not to believe that the Parliament had commanded any such thing; and to that purpose speaking, demanded of Sir JOHN HOTHAM, that, if he had Order from the Parliament to keep-out his Person, he should shew it in writing; for, otherwise, he would not believe it. But Sir JOHN HOTHAM, because the Order was not in those express words, as naming the King's particular person, though he knew the sense and meaning of the Parliament, did not produce any Writing; onely continued beseeching the King not to command him that which he might not do: Whereupon the King, after some hours spent in vain about the Town, proclaimed Sir JOHN HOTHAM, a Traitor; and returned, when he had received, out of the Town, his Son, the Duke of *York*; and his Nephew, the Prince Electour; whom Sir JOHN, the day before, had admitted into the Town, entertained, and lodged there that night.

The next day the King, in a Message to the Parliament, complained of that affront offered by Sir JOHN HOTHAM, accusing him for that he had traiterously
and

and seditiously strived to put his disobedience upon the Parliament, the King seeming to believe that HOTHAM had done it upon his own head, without any direction or authority from them: And within two dayes after, sent another Message to the Parliament, complaining, in a sharper manner than before, of that great indignity, which, if they afforded him no reparation, would make the World believe that his priviledges were lesse then any Subject's in the Land; and that it was more lawful to rob him of his proper Goods, than the meanest Member of the Kingdom. He sent also, at the same time, a Letter to the Mayor of *Hull*, commanding him, and all Officers of that Town, to take care that no part of the Magazines should be removed, or transported, out of the Town, under any pretence of Order, or Power, whatsoever, without his Royal Assent, under his Hand. He caused likewise all Passages between *Hull* and *London*, to be stopped-up, and by that means apprehended a servant of Sir JOHN HOTHAM's, going with a Letter to the Parliament concerning the proceedings before-mentioned.

The Parliament immediately, upon notice of these things, declared their reasons for *Hull*, and that the stopping of Passages, and intercepting of Messengers, or Letters, to, or from, the Parliament, or in their service, was an high breach of the Priviledges of Parliament, which by the Laws of the Land, and their Protestation, they were bound to defend, and punish the violaters; authorizing, by Ordinance of both Houses, all Sheriffs, Justices, Constables, and other Officers, to aid the persons employed in the said service, for their more speedie, free, and safe passage; giving Order also to the said Officers within the Counties of *York* and *Lincoln*, to suppress any Armies raised to force *Hull*, or stop the passages before-mentioned, in disturbance of the Kingdom's peace.

The Parliament
justifies Sir John
Hotham's conduct

It was voted by them, two days after, that Sir JOHN HOTHAM, had done nothing but in obedience to the Command of both Houses of Parliament. Resolved, also it was upon the Question, *That this declaring of Sir JOHN HOTHAM, Traitor, being a Member of the House of Commons, was an high breach of the Priviledges of Parliament.* Resolved again, *That declaring Sir JOHN HOTHAM, Traitor, without due Processe of Law, was against the Liberty of the Subject, and Laws of the Land.*

An Order of Assistance was then given to the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord WILLOUGHBY of *Parham*, Sir EDWARD AYSCOUGH, Sir CHRISTOPHER WRAY, Sir SAMUEL OWFEILD, and Master HATCHER, as Committees of both Houses, sent down to *Hull*, and the two Counties of *York* and *Lincoln*, for service of the Kingdom, that all Sheriffs, Justices, Mayors, &c. should be assisting to them upon all occasions.

To that Declaration, Votes, and Orders of Assistance, of both Houses of Parliament, the King, on the fourth of *May*, returned an Answer, wherein at large he expresses how hainous the affront was, and how much he accounts himself injured by the Parliament, in not repairing him against HOTHAM; labouring to prove by ancient Statutes there cited, that Sir JOHN HOTHAM's denial of entrance to him, was absolutely High Treason by the Law of the Land.

Upon

Upon this subject, within the space of one week, two other Declarations and Answers passed between the King and both Houses, too large to be here inserted: but the scope of the King's Declarations in general, are to vindicate his own Rights and dignity allowed him as King, by the Laws of the Land; wherein he seemeth not to take notice of the present occasion, or such things as are conceived dangers and thought necessary to be prevented by a Parliament sitting. The Parliament, on the other side, with all humility, and reverent expressions to the King's Person, seeming to take no notice of any affront offered or intended to his Majestie himself, but onely of preserving *Hull*, the *Militia*, and *Navy*, out of the hands of those wicked Counsellors whom they conceived to be too prevalent with him, to the danger of ruining the Kingdom and himself; both which they laboured to preserve, and were lawfully called to it by that Authority which belongs to Parliaments, by the Fundamental Constitution of the English Government. They desire to inform the King, that his Interest in Towns, Arms, or the Kingdom itself, is not of that kinde which private men have in their Goods, to sell or dispose of them at pleasure; but onely as entrusted to him for the good of all: in performance of which trust, none but the Parliament, while it sitteth, are or ought to be his Counsellors and directors: that there can be no good or useful disputation, where the Principles are not granted: and it was ever heretofore taken (say they) for a certain Principle, That the Parliament sitting is the onely Judge of what is dangerous to the Commonwealth, and what useful, as likewise what is lawful in those cases; which the King, by advice of no private Council whatsoever, ought to control, or contradict: which Principle, till the King will be pleased rightly to apprehend, Disputations and Declarations are endlesse, and no true understanding between him and his people can be begotten.

Of all these things, if a Reader desire to be satisfied in particular, he may finde the questions all fully stated by the Parliament, and the King's desires expressed by himself, in two large Declarations; one called the Parliament's third Remonstrance, dated the 26th of *May*, 1642; and the King's Answer to that Remonstrance.

But things began to go on in an high manner; the Parliament authorizing Sir JOHN HOTHAM to issue out Warrants to Constables, and other Officers, to come with Arms for the defence of *Hull*: and the King, on the other side, forbidding any such Warrants, bringing, or training, without an expresse Authority under his hand.

The King summons the Gentry of Yorkshire to attend him at York, May 12th, 1642.

The King had summoned the Gentry of that County to attend him at the City of *York*; which they accordingly did, upon the 12th of *May*, 1642, where he caused, after he had spoken some few words to them, to be read aloud in their hearing, his Answer to the Declaration of both Houses concerning *Hull*, the Answer of the Parliament to his two Messages concerning *Hull*, together with his Reply to the same, and his Message to both Houses, declaring the reasons why he refused to passe that Bill of the *Militia*: after which he proceeded in a Speech to them, wherein he strove to make them apprehend, that traiterous attempts might be

be made against his Person; and for that reason he desired a Guard of Horse and Foot to be levied there for his defence. He complained likewise, that the Committee of Parliament consisting of four Members of the House of Commons, FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, SIR HUGH CHOLMLEY, SIR PHILLIP STAPLETON, and SIR HENRY CHOLMLEY, refused to obey his Command. For they, being there employed, in their own Country, by the Parliament, to do service to the State, were commanded by the King to depart out of the County; which they durst not do, against the intention of the Parliament, who employed them there. But the King in that Speech to the County, bade them take heed of those four Gentlemen, not knowing what doctrine of disobedience they might preach to the people, under colour of obeying the Parliament. The King's Speech and Declaration read, seemed to be much applauded by many Gentlemen, and their servants: as, when those things which came from the Parliament were read, the same persons expressed much scorn, hissing and reviling the language and reason of them.

But divers of the Gentry, and the greatest part of the Free-holders, began with sorrow to consider that this division of the King from his great Council could produce nothing but misery to the Kingdom, and dishonour to himself: and therefore they humbly answered his Propositions concerning a Guard, That they were willing to do any service, or expose their lives to any hazard, for the safety of his Majesties Royal Person; yet they thought themselves unworthy to advise him in a thing of so high consequence; but humbly beseeched him to impart the grounds of his fears and jealousies to his high Court of Parliament, of whose loyal care and affections to the King's honour and safetie, and to the prosperitie of the whole Kingdom, they were most confident. And in behalf of the four fore-mentioned Members of Parliament, lately employed to attend *your Majestie* (said they) *from both Houses, being all Gentlemen of quality and estate in the County; we humbly crave your Majesties leave to expresse our confidence in their unstained loyalty to your Majestie, so far as that you may securely admit their attendance to negotiate their employments, until they shall be recalled by the Parliament. And we do all engage ourselves for their fidelity, as being most assured that your Royal Person shall be secure in the General loyalty of your Subjects in this County, without any extraordinary Guard.*

A Petition is presented to the King from great numbers of people in Yorkshire to comply with the advice of his Parliament.

The King was presented also the next day with a Petition from many thousands, who termed themselves, *peaceably-affected Subjects in the County of York*, in which, expressing their loyalty and affection to him, they speak thus: *We are confident that no so absolute and hearty observance of your Majesties just commands can be demonstrated, as when you shall in Parliament declare them: If they be divided (which God forbid) our hearts even tremble to consider the danger, and diminution of the honour and safety of your Self and Kingdom; since it is clear to every understand-*
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ing, that it is not a divided part of one or several Counties can afford that honour and safety to your Majestie as the whole Kingdom: Which you may command, no ground of fear or danger remaining, if a good confidence were begot betwixt your Majestie and the Parliament; whose grave and loyal Counsels are, as we humbly conceive, the visible way, under God, to put a speedie end to the troubles in Ireland, and establish your Throne in Righteousnesse. And, lastly, we humbly supplicate that we may represent our unfitness to become Judges betwixt your Majestie and Parliament in any thing, or dispute the Authority of either; which we humbly conceive do fortifie each other, &c.

The King was not well satisfied, or pleased, with this Petition, but persisted still in his former way of raising Forces, under the name of a Guard; whilst the Parliament were voting to maintain those Gentlemen, *their Committee in the North*, in such things as they have done, and shall further do, in obedience to their commands, for preservation of the Kingdom's Peace; as also to maintain their Ordinance concerning the *Militia*, and to issue out Commissions into all parts of the Kingdom, and appoint certain days for all the Trained-Bands to be exercised in each County according to that Ordinance; and that some Members might be sent into the several Counties, to see the Ordinance performed; and the Magazines of those several Counties in *England* and *Wales* to be forthwith put into the power of the Lord-Lieutenants of the said Counties, being such as were entrusted by the Parliament. And, whereas the King had made Proclamation for all the Gentlemen and others of that County to attend him in Arms as a Guard; the Parliament three days after declared, that it was against the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that any of the Subjects thereof should be commanded by the King to attend him at his pleasure, but such as are bound thereto by special service; and that whosoever, upon pretence of his command, shall take Arms, and gather together with others in a warlike manner, to the terror of the King's people, shall be esteemed disturbers of the publike peace: and that the Sheriffs of those Counties where such raising, or drawing, of armed men should be, should immediately raise the power of the Countie to suppress them, and keep the King's Peace according to Law.

So different and directly contrary, at this time, were the Commands of the King and Parliament, in all things, that the Lords in Parliament, having been informed that the King was resolved to adjourn the next Term from *Westminster* to *York*, and had given command to the Lord-Keeper to issue Proclamations and Writs to that purpose, voted that such a removal of the Term, while the Parliament sate, was illegal; and ordered that the Lord-Keeper should not issue any Writs, or seal any Proclamation, tending to that end.

The King continues to raise forces under the name of a Guard to his person.

And the Parliament raises the Militia.

CHAP. IV.

Many Members of both Houses leave the Parliament, and repair to the King. Nine of the Lords who first went-away, are impeached by the Commons, and censured by the Peers. The Great Seal is carried-away from London to York. Some Votes of Parliament concerning the King's proceedings. A Petition, with nineteen Propositions, sent from the Parliament to the King.

Many members of both houses of Parliament repair to the King at York, in April and May, 1642.

THE King proceeded in his earnest endeavour of raising Forces, as a Guard for his Person: which in some measure he had effected, by many fair expressions of love and grace to the people of those Northern Counties, and serious Protestations of the clearnesse of his intent from any violation of Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, or making War against the Parliament. But the Kingdom was not much affrighted with any Forces which the King could so raise; nor could any other attempt of his in the Northern parts, make the people fear a Civil War, until they saw that great defection of the Parliament-Members, which began before the end of *April*, and continued for the greatest part of that *May*: for at that time did the Lords, one after another, and sometimes by numbers, abandon the Parliament sitting, and go to the King at *York*: insomuch that, in a very short space, those Lords became the greater number; and their departure began therefore to seem lesse strange, than the constant sitting of the rest. The Lords who left the Parliament, were these: the Duke of *Richmond*, Marquesse *Hartford*, the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntingdon*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorset*, *Salisbury*, (although *Salisbury*, within few days after, repenting himself, made a secret escape from *York* to *London*, and joyned himself again to the Parliament, with whom he continued constant ever after) *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Bristol*, *Westmerland*, *Barkeshire*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Newcastle*, *Dover*, *Carnarvan*, *Newport*; the Lords *MATREVERS*, *WILLOUGHBY* of *Eresby*, *RICH*, *HOWARD* of *Charleton*, *NEWARK*,

NEWARK, PAGET, CHANDOYS, FAWCONBRIDGE, PAWLET, LOVELACE, SAVILE, COVENTRY, MOHUN, DUNSMORE, SEYMOUR, GREY of *Ruthen*, CAPEL. Within the same compasse of time, many of the House of Commons, (though no great number, in respect of those who continued in that house,) did likewise so far break that trust which was reposed in them, as to forsake their seats in Parliament; some of them, as was reported, invited by Letters from the King, and others of their own accord.

At the revolt of so many members from the Parliament, the Kingdom in general began to fear; and all that loved the Nation's Peace, were in an high measure dismayed; among whom nothing was to be heard, in all meetings and discourses, but sad presages of misery to the Kingdom, if Almighty God did not in a miraculous way prevent it: They concluded, that no other way could have been found-out to endanger the overthrow of that Parliament, which many open attempts and secret conspiracies could not do: That, as the ruine of *England* could not in probability be wrought but by itself; so the Parliament could not be broken (a Prologue to the other) but by her own Members, and that sentence verified, *Perditio tua ex te*. Though the opinions of men differed concerning the censure of those Members; while some condemned, others in some degree excused them, according as affection and private interests did lead them: yet concerning the Effects which that Revolt in all probability must produce, all rational men concurred in opinion, that nothing but Calamity and Ruine could flow from it. What else (said they) can this Revolt do, but nourish and increase the King's disaffection to the Parliament? What, but encourage his distance from it, and attempts against it? What, but secure the Irish Rebels, and endanger the losse of that Kingdom; cherish Papists, obstruct Justice, and give impunity to all Delinquents? Nothing else had power to undermine and shake the dignity and reverence belonging to that high Court; whilst not onely the People, by that diminution of their number, were perswaded to esteem of it as an imperfect Parliament; but the King might take that advantage of it (which proved true in his succeeding Declarations and Writings, what he never did before) as to call them a Faction, or pretended Parliament, and such like.

Various reflections of the people on the abandonment of the Parliament by many of it's members.

In censuring those Lords and Commons who deserted the Parliament, the People, as was said before, did much differ. Some, considering how great the number was, and that many of them were of whole estates, of good reputation, and able parts, began to think, or at least to say, that the Parliament was not free enough; that those Members (which was also their own excuse) were curbed by a prevalent faction in the Houses, and over-awed by tumults from the City of *London*. Upon that occasion, they called to minde in what manner the names of nine and fifty Members of the House of Commons had been posted-up at the Exchange, for dissenting from the rest about condemning of the Earl of *Strafford*; besides the menacing speeches which had been given by rude people to some Lords, whom they thought ill-affected.

Others answered, that although such things had been rashly and foolishly done

by some unadvised persons, yet it could not be feared that any tumults from the Citie would ever violate a Parliament sitting; and that the tumultuous appearance of such multitudes from the Citie, was rather intended for encouragement and security of the Parliament against such invasions as might be made upon them, to awe their just freedom, and treacherous Conspiracies which by report were made against them by people disaffected to that high Court; which that Plot of bringing the Army against them formerly, and late resorts of armed persons about *White-hall*, gave them cause to fear: That no fears of danger could be pretended from the House itself against any Member, but such as that Member was bound to undergo and suffer, rather than betray so great a trust of the people: That it was to be presumed, no Member of Parliament who was well-affected to his Country, could suffer any thing from the house itself; whose ends and counsels must needs be supposed to tend to the publike good, or else our Ancestours, who constituted that Frame of Government, were much deceived: That it was very improbable the Liberty of Subjects should be violated by that Court, which is the onely defence and conservator of it, and without which, it had always suffered from Princes, yea, such Princes as were not very wicked.

N. B.

They alledged that it was very dishonourable for those Lords, being the greater number, to pretend fear for deserting the Parliament: for, if it were upon a true dislike of any proceedings there, they were enow to have stayed, and perchance have cured those inconveniences, and too many to have suffered in a good Cause; though Honour would command one man alone, lawfully called to it, to maintain a truth with any hazard. On the other side, they were too many to flee, to encourage the King against his Parliament, and thereby foment that dissention which could produce no good effect.

It was alledged by many men, that some of those Lords were Noblemen of honourable and vertuous repute. Though that were not denied, nor could any certain signe from the former demeanours of the Lords in general, arise, to distinguish who were likely to adhere to the Parliament, and who to desert it (for they were deceived on both sides, in some particulars) yet certainly it was averred, that those Lords whom the people had most especially trusted-in, as true Patriots, proved to be part of those who continued in the House; and those whom the people in general distasted, or distrusted, happened to be among those, who, upon this occasion, forsook the Parliament.

N. B.

It was likewise frequently spoken, that those Members of the House of Commons who deserted it, were men generally of as able parts as any that continued there. It was no wonder, (replied others) but very probable that they were such men, and such as had, or thought they had, good parts enough to be looked-upon by a Prince: for those men (though we should esteem them all of equal honesty,) were likeliest to fall-off. There is a difference between Wisdom and good Parts, such as we count Eloquence, Wit, polite Learning, and the like: and that Wisdom which is least adorned with such dresses as these, is usually at such times most safe in itself, and free-est from being corrupted; as that Beauty is, which is set-off with

with the least witchery of Attire: for that Beauty which is curiously decked, as it is most subject to be tempted by others; so it is most apt to be proud of itself, and by consequence, to betray itself to such a temptation as is great enough. So it hath been often seen in this case (as was observed by an old Parliament-man) that those Gentlemen of fine parts, when other men of a plainer wisdom have had the honour in a constant way to do excellent service for the Common-wealth, have been won from their Countrey's cause, as soon as Majestie hath at all vouchsafed to tempt them, or that, perchance, their opinion of themselves hath made them meet, or seek, such a temptation. Besides that danger of invitation from a King, it hath been too often known, that men of such parts, or that think so of themselves, have been apter to take pet, and grow angry, when any Speech of theirs hath not received that honour which they expected, or any other affront hath been offered to them; and what such an anger may make proud and ambitious spirits to do, even against their own Country, and the dictates of their Conscience and Reason, the world hath been taught by many examples, some of high consequence, and very remarkable, such as CORIOLANUS the Romane, and JULIAN the Spanish, General, which for the eminence of the persons, and extraordinary effects which they wrought in the world, must needs fall into Record; when the actions of mean and private men are buried in oblivion. Besides, there are many, whose Callings make them capable of easier and greater gratifications from the King than other men; as Lawyers and Divines; who will therefore be apt to lean that way where the preferment lies. Such discourses were frequent in all companies at that time; for different affections did at all meetings beget such argumentative language.

What sense and apprehension the Parliament had of so many Members forsaking their station, shall appear anon, by a Vote passed in the House of Commons, and presented to the Lords by Master DENZIL HOLLIS, after some intervening passages have been related.

Whilst the King, encouraged and strengthened by this great accession of reputation to his side, pursued his designe of raising Forces in the North; the Parliament, after they had on the twentieth of May petitioned the King to disband such Forces, and rely for his security (as his Predecessours had done) upon the Laws, and the affections of his People, contenting himself with his usual and ordinary Guards; declared that otherwise they held themselves bound in duty towards God, and the Trust reposed in them by the People, and by the Fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, to employ their care and utmost power to secure the Parliament, and preserve the Kingdom's Peace; and immediately it was voted in

Parliament, and resolved upon the Question, *That it appears that the King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intends to make War against the Parliament, who, in all their consultations and actions, have proposed no other end unto themselves, but the care of his Kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his Person.* It was likewise resolved upon the Question, *That, whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the dissolution of this Government.* As also,

That

The Parliament
ordered nine Lords
who had denied
them, to resign
their, May 30, 1642.

And, upon their
refusal to obey this
order, the House of
Commons im-
peached them before
the House of Lords,
June 10, 1642.

The Speech of Mr.
Denzil Hollis before
the House of Lords,
impugning the said
nine Lords for their
desertion.

The Parliament pas-
ses a Vote, "that it
appears that the King
intends to make War
upon them," May
20, 1642.

That whosoever shall serve or assist him in such Wars, are Traitors by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and have been so adjudged in two Acts of Parliament; 11 RICH. 2. and 1 HEN. 4: and that such persons ought to suffer as Traitors.

The Parliament orders nine Lords who had deserted them, to rejoin them, May 30, 1642.

And, upon their refusal to obey this order, the House of Commons impeaches them before the House of Lords, June 15, 1642.

But those Lords who had forsaken the Parliament continuing still with the King in the Northern parts, the Parliament, by an Order of the 30th of May, summoned nine of them, who first had gone away, to appear at *Westminster*; viz. the Earls of *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Dover*, and *Monmouth*; the Lords HOWARD of *Charleton*, RICH, GREY of *Ruthen*, COVENTRY, and CAPEL: but they utterly refused to come-away, returning an Answer in writing; which the Parliament judged to be a slighting and scornful Letter: Upon which, a Vote was passed against them in the House of Commons, and presented on the 15th of June to the Lords, by Master HOLLIS; with an Oration of his own concerning the importance of the business; the greatest part of which Speech being here inserted, may give light to the Reader concerning the condition of the Kingdom at that time, and the judgement of the Houses upon it.

His Speech began thus:

The Speech of Mr. Denzill Hollis, before the House of Lords, impeaching the said nine Lords for their desertion.

“ My Lords, By command of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons, I come hither to your Lordships in behalf of the Parliament, or rather in behalf of the whole Kingdom, labouring with much distraction, many fears, great apprehensions of evil and mischief intended against it, and now hatching and preparing by that malignant party, which thirsts after the destruction of Religion, Laws and Liberty; all which are folded-up, cherished, and preserved in the careful bosome of the Parliament.

“ It hath ever been the policie of evil Counsellors (who are the greatest enemies we have in the world, or can have) to strike at Parliaments, keep-off Parliaments, break Parliaments, or divide Parliaments, by making Factions, casting-in Divisions and Obstructions, to hinder and interrupt the proceedings of Parliament; all against the Parliament.

“ Your Lordships have had experience of this Truth this Parliament; a succession of designs upon it: First, to awe it, and take-away the freedom of it by the terrour of an Army; then, to bring Force against it, actually to assault it, and with the Sword to cut in sunder this onely Band which ties and knits-up King and People; the People among themselves, and the whole frame of this Government, in one firm, and, I hope, indissoluble, knot of Peace and Unity.

“ God diverted those designs, did blowe upon them; presently, another is set upon, which was, To obstruct and hinder our proceedings, that in the meantime the flame of Rebellion might consume the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and distempers, distractions, and jealousies, be fomented here at home, to tear-out the bowels of this Kingdom, the Parliament being disabled from helping it, by occasion of so many diversions, so much business cut-out unto it, many ob-

structions

“structions and difficulties, especially that great one, from whence all the rest
 “receive countenance and support, his Majestie’s absenting himself, not concur-
 “ring with us, and so withdrawing both his presence and influence; by which
 “means such remedies could not be applied as were necessary, and what was done,
 “was done with infinite trouble to the Parliament, and excessive charge to the
 “Subject, double, treble, of what otherwise would have served the turn: So the
 “Subject is grieved, and oppressed with charge, and the blame of all is laid upon
 “the Parliament, and the Parliament unjustly said to be the cause of all these
 “Evils, which the authors of them had made so great, and so confirmed and
 “secured by the rfequent interruptions of the Parliament, that they could not
 “suddenly, nor easily, be suppressed or removed.

“Well, by God’s infinite blessing, the Parliament was in a fair possibility to
 “wade thorow this likewise; and, though the Night had been black and stormy,
 “some Day began to appear: miraculously our Armies have prospered in *Ireland*;
 “and, God be praised, the malevolent practices of these Vipers at home, as they
 “appeared, were in some sort mastered; and the Parliament began to act and
 “operate towards the settling of the great Affairs, both of Church and State, and
 “providing for the defence and safety of this Kingdom, against either forraign in-
 “vasion, or any striving of the disaffected party among themselves.

“Then three ways are together assayed for the weakening and invalidating the
 “proceeding and power of the Parliament, and making-way for the utter subver-
 “sion of it.

1. “Force is gathered together at *York*, under pretence of a Guard for His
 “Majestie’s Person, to make an opposition against the Parliament, and by strong
 “hand to support and protect Delinquents; so as no Order of Parliament can be
 “obeyed, but on the other side is slighted and scorned, to make the Parliament
 “of no reputation, to be but *Imago Parliamenti*, a meer shadow, without sub-
 “stance, without efficacie.

2. “To send-out in His Majestie’s name, and as Declarations and Messages
 “from him, bitter invectives against the Parliament, to perplex it, and engage it
 “in expence of time to answer them: and besides, cunningly to insinuate and in-
 “fuse into the people, by false colours and glosses, a disopinion and dislike of the
 “Parliament, and, if it be possible, to stir-up their spirits to rise against it, to
 “destroy it, (and, in it, all other Parliaments,) to the ruine of themselves, their
 “wives and children.

3. “The third Plot is: The Members are drawn-away, and perswaded to for-
 “sake their duty and attendance here, and go-down to *York*, thereby to blemish
 “the actions of both Houses, as done by a few and an inconsiderable number, and
 “rather a Party than a Parliament, and perhaps to raise and set-up an anti-Parlia-
 “ment there.

“My Lords, this is now the great Designe, whereby they hope, by little and
 “little, the Parliament shall even bleed to death, and moulder to nothing, the
 “members dropping-away one after another: a desperate and dangerous practice,
 “and,

“ and, as your Lordships well observed (when you were pleased to communicate
 “ the businesse to us) an effect of the evil Counsels now prevailing, and tending to
 “ the dissolution of the Parliament, of this Parliament, which, under God, must be
 “ the preserver of three Kingdoms, and keep them firm and loyal to their King,
 “ subject to his Crown, save them from being turned into a Chaos of disorder and
 “ confusion, and made a dismal spectacle of misery and desolation; this Parlia-
 “ ment, which is the last hope of the long-oppressed, and, in other Countries
 “ even almost wholly-destroyed, Protestant Religion: this Parliament which is
 “ the onely means to continue us to be a Nation of freemen and not of slaves; to
 “ be owners of any thing: in a word, which must stand in the Gap, to prevent
 “ an in-let and inundation of all misery and confusion.

“ My Lords, this Parliament they desire to destroy; but I hope it will destroy
 “ the destroyers, and be a wall of Fire to consume them, as it is a wall of Brasse
 “ to us, to defend King, and Kingdom, us and all we have.

“ Your Lordships wisely foresaw this Mischief, and as wisely have endeavoured
 “ to prevent it, by making your Orders to keep your Members here; as that of
 “ the ninth of *April*, and several other Orders, enjoinning them all to attend;
 “ thereby restraining them from repairing to *York*, where the Clouds were obser-
 “ ved to gather so fast, threatening a storm, and such preparations to be made
 “ against the Parliament, That it necessitated both Houses to pass a Vote,
 “ *That the King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intended to make War against the*
 “ *Parliament: and all who shall serve and assist in such Wars are declared to be*
 “ *Traitours*: which Vote passed the 20th of *May*: so setting a mark upon
 “ that place, and their opinion concerning those who should at this time resort
 “ thither.

“ Yet now, in such a conjuncture of time, when the Kingdom had never more
 “ need of a Parliament, and the Parliament never more need of all the help and
 “ assistance, of the best endeavour and advice, of every member; the Safety, and
 “ even Being, of three Kingdoms depending on it; after such Orders and Com-
 “ mands of your Lordship's House to the contrary; such a Vote of both Houses;
 “ and expressly against their Duty; being called thither by Writ under the Great
 “ Seal, which is the King's greatest and highest Command, and not controllable
 “ nor to be dispensed-with by any other Command from him whatsoever; and
 “ called to treat and consult *de Arduis Regni*, the great, urging, and pressing
 “ affairs of the Kingdom, never more urgent, never more pressing: notwith-
 “ standing all this, these Lords, the Earls of *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Dover*,
 “ *Monmouth*; the Lords *HOWARD of Charlton*, *RICH, GREY, COVENTRY*, and
 “ *CAPEL*, have left their stations, withdrawn themselves and are gone to *York*;
 “ and, being summoned to appear by an Order of the 30th of *May*, instead of
 “ obedience, return refusal, by a slighting and scornful Letter, which hath been so
 “ adjudged both by your Lordships and the House of Commons.

“ My Lords, the House of Commons hath likewise, upon the consideration
 “ and

“ and debate of this businesse, finding it so much to concern the safety of
 “ the Kingdom and the very Being of the Parliament, passed this Vote;
 “ *That the Departing of these nine Lords from the Parliament without*
 “ *leave, after such a time as both Houses had declared, ‘ That the King,*
 “ *seduced by wicked Counsel, intended to make War against the Parlia-*
 “ *ment;’ and their still continuing at York, notwithstanding their Sum-*
 “ *mons and Command, is an high Affront and Contempt of both Houses;*
 “ *and that the said Lords did as much as in them lay, that the service of*
 “ *Parliament might be deserted, and are justly suspected to promote a War*
 “ *against the Parliament.*

“ The House, in further prosecution of their duty in this particular, and in
 “ pursuance of their Protestation, which obliges them to endeavour to bring to
 “ condign punishment all such high offenders against, not onely the Priviledges,
 “ but the very Essence, of Parliament, have sent me up to impeach these Lords,
 “ and desire that speedy and exemplary Justice may be done upon them.

“ And accordingly, *I do here, in the name of the Knights, Citizens and*
 “ *Burgesses of the Commons House assembled in Parliament, and in the*
 “ *name of all the Commons of England, Impeach SPENCER Earl of Nor-*
 “ *thampton, WILLIAM Earl of Devonshire, HENRY Earl of Dover,*
 “ *HENRY Earl of Monmouth, CHARLES Lord HOWARD of Charleton,*
 “ *ROBERT Lord RICH, CHARLES Lord GREY of Ruthen, THOMAS*
 “ *Lord COVENTRY, and ARTHUR Lord CAPEL, for these high Crimes and*
 “ *Misdemeanours following; viz. For, that, contrary to their duty, they*
 “ *being Peers of the Realm, and summoned by Writ to attend the Parlia-*
 “ *ment; and contrary to an Order of the House of Peers of the ninth of*
 “ *April last, and several other Orders, requiring the attendance of the*
 “ *Members of that House; and after a Vote past in both Houses the twen-*
 “ *tieth of May last, ‘ That the King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intended*
 “ *to make War against the Parliament; and that whosoever served or*
 “ *assisted him in that War, was adjudged a Traitor;’ did, notwith-*
 “ *standing, afterwards, in the same month of May, contemptuously, having*
 “ *notice of the said Votes and Orders, withdraw themselves from the*
 “ *said House of Peers, and repair to the City of York, where the prepa-*
 “ *rations of the said War were, and yet are, in contrivance and agitation;*
 “ *they knowing of such preparations: and being, by an Order of the thir-*
 “ *tieth of May, duly summoned by the House of Peers, to make their appear-*
 “ *ance before that House upon the eighth day of June last past, they refused*
 “ *to appear, and returned a scornful Answer by a Letter under their hands,*
 “ *directed*

*“ directed to the Speaker of the Lords House, and remaining there upon
“ Record.*

*“ For which Crimes and Misdemeanours, to the interuption of the pro-
“ ceedings of Parliament, and great Affairs of the Kingdom, and tending
“ to the dissolution of the Parliament, and disturbance of the Peace of the
“ Kingdom; I am commanded, in the name of the said Commons, to
“ demand of your Lordships, that the said Lords may be forthwith put to
“ their Answer, and receive speedy and exemplary punishment, according
“ to their demerits. The Commons saving to themselves liberty, at all times
“ hereafter, to exhibite any other, or further, Impeachment, or Accusation,
“ against the said Lords, or any of them.”*

The House of Lords
passes a sentence
against them, in
July, 1642.

Upon this Impeachment of the nine Lords, the House of Peers, about a month after, being in their Robes, entred into debate of the said Impeachment; and, after divers Speeches made by some Lords, setting-forth the greatnesse of their Offence, they were censured, 1. Never to sit more as Members of that House. 2. That they should be utterly incapable of any benefit, or priviledges, of Parliament. 3. That they should suffer Imprisonment during their pleasure. After which Censure, it was concluded that the said Lords should be demanded, in the behalf of both Houses of Parliament, to submit to the said Censure.

About that time, when the Members of both Houses of Parliament did daily forsake their station, and repair to the King at York, another accident fell-out, which gave a great wound to the Parliament, and much encouragement to the King in his designs; which was, the carrying-away of the Great Seal of England from London to York.

The Lord-Keeper
Littleton sends the
Great Seal of Eng-
land to the King at
York.

EDWARD LORD LITTLETON, on whom the King, (when the Lord-Keeper FINCH fled out of England, as is before related,) had conferred the keeping of the Great Seal (he being before Lord Chiefe-Justice of the Common-Pleas,) and had created him a Baron of the Realm, had continued for some space of time, after the rest were gone to York, firm to the Parliament in all appearance, and upon all occasions had voted according to the sense of those that seemed the best-affected that way; and, among other things, had given his Vote for settling the *Militia* by Ordinance of Parliament; insomuch that there seemed no doubt at all to be made of his constancy; till at the last, before the end of the month of June, a young Gentleman, one Master Thomas Elot, Groom of the Privy-Chamber to the King, was sent closely from York to him; who (being admitted by the Lord-Keeper into his private Chamber, where none else were by,) so handled the matter, (whether by persuasions, threats, or promises, or whatsoever,) that, after three hours time, he got the great Seal into his hands, and rid post with it away to the King at York.

And the next day
goes thither himself.

The Lord-Keeper LITTLETON, after serious consideration with himself what he had

had done, or rather suffered, and not being able to answer it to the Parliament; the next day, early in the morning, rode after it himself, and went to the King.

Great was the complaint at *London* against him for that action; nor did the King ever shew him any great regard afterwards. The reason which the Lord-Keeper LITTLETON gave, for parting so with the great Seal, to some friends of his who went after him to *York*, was this; That the King, when he made him Lord-Keeper, gave him an Oath in private, which he took, That, whensoever the King should send to him for the great Seal, he should forthwith deliver it. This Oath (as he averred to his friends) his conscience would by no means suffer him to dispense withal; he onely repented (though now too late) that he had accepted the Office upon those terms.

The Parliament, to prevent so sad a War, sent out two Orders; one, to all Sheriffs, Justices, and Other Officers within 150 miles of the City of *York*, that they should take special care to make stay of all Arms and Ammunition carrying towards *York*, until they have given notice thereof to the Lords and Commons, and received their further direction; and to that purpose, to keep strict Watches within their several limits, to search-for, and seize, all such Arms, and apprehend the persons going with the same: The other was to the Sheriff of *Lancashire*, and other adjacent Counties, to suppress the raising and coming-together of any Souldiers, Horse or Foot, by any Warrant from the King, without the advice of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; as likewise to declare all that should execute any such Warrant from the King, disturbers of the peace of the Kingdom; and to command the Trained-Bands to be assistant to the Sheriffs in that service.

The Parliament publishes Orders to prevent the King from raising forces.

These Orders of the Parliament were immediately answered by a Proclamation from the King, forbidding all his Subjects belonging to the Trained-Bands, or *Militia* of this Kingdom, to rise, march, muster, or exercise by vertue of any Order, or Ordinance, of one or both Houses of Parliament, without Consent or Warrant from his Majesty. The Parliament, notwithstanding, proceed in settling the *Militia* of the Kingdom, (having made, on the second of *June*, an Order for those revolted members to return to their duty again before the 16th of that month, under the forfeiture of an hundred pounds, to be disposed-of towards the Wars in *Ireland*, besides undergoing such punishments as the Houses should think fit) and had by this time at many places began to settle the said *Militia*.

The King publishes a Proclamation in answer to them.

Upon the same second of *June* also, the Lords and Commons sent a Petition to the King, with nineteen Propositions; which the King received with great indignation, as appeared in his Answer to them both in general, and in divers particulars concerning those Propositions, as esteeming himself injured in restraint of his Power and Prerogative. The Petition and Propositions were as followeth.

The Parliament presents a Petition to the King, containing nineteen Propositions, on the 2nd of June, 1642.

The humble Petition and Advice of both Houses of Parliament; with Nineteen Propositions, and the Conclusion, sent unto His Majesty the second of June, 1642.

Your Majesties most humble and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, having nothing in their thoughts and desires, more precious and of higher esteem (next to the honour and immediate Service of God) than the just and faithful performance of their duty to Your Majestie, and this Kingdom; And, being very sensible of the great distractions and distempers, and of the imminent dangers and calamities which those distractions and distempers are like to bring upon Your Majestie and Your Subjects; all which have proceeded from the subtil informations, mischievous practices, and evil counsels of men disaffected to God's true Religion, Your Majesties Honour and Safety, and the publike Peace and Prosperity of Your People; after a serious observation of the causes of those Mischiefs; Do, in all humility and sincerity present to Your Majestie their most dutiful Petition and Advice, that, out of Your Princely Wisdom for the establishing Your Own Honour and Safety, and your gracious tendernesse of the Welfare and Security of Your Subjects and Dominions, You will be pleased to grant and accept these their humble Desires and Propositions, as the most necessary and effectual Means, through God's blessing, of removing those Jealousies and Differences which have unhappily fallen betwixt Your Majesty and Your People, and of procuring to both Your Majestie and Them a constant course of Honour, Peace, and Happiness.

The Propositions.

1. That the Lords and others of Your Majesties Privy-Council, and such great Officers and Ministers of State, either at home, or beyond the Seas, may be put from Your Privy-Council, and from those Offices and Employments, excepting such as shall be approved-of by both Houses of Parliament: And that the persons put into the places and Employments of those that are removed, may be approved-of by both Houses of Parliament. And that Privy Counsellors shall take an Oath for the due execution of their places, in such form as shall be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.

2. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom may not be concluded, or transacted, by the advice of private men, or by any unknown, or unsworn, Counsellors; but that such matters as concern the Publike, and are proper for the high Court of Parliament, (which is Your Majesties great and supreme Council,) may be debated, resolved, and transacted, onely in Parliament, and not elsewhere: and such as shall presume to do any thing to the contrary, shall be reserved to the censure and judgement of Parliament: And such other matters of State as are proper for
Your

Your Majesties Privy Council, shall be debated and concluded by such of the Nobility, and others, as shall from time to time be chosen for that place, by approbation of both Houses of Parliament. And that no publike Act concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for Your Privy Council, may be esteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unlesse it be done by the Advice and Consent of the major part of Your Council, attested under their hands. And that Your Council may be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty-five, nor under fifteen. And if any Counsellour's place happen to be void in the interval of Parliament, it shall not be supplied without the assent of the major part of the Council; which voice shall be confirmed at the next sitting of Parliament, or else to be void.

3. That the Lord High Steward of *England*, the Lord High-Constable, the Lord Chancellour, or Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Earl-Marshal, the Lord-Admiral, the Warden of the Cinque-Ports, the chief Governour of *Ireland*, the Chancellour of the Exchequer, the Master of the Wards, the Secretaries of State, the two Chief-Justices, and the Chief-Baron, may always be chosen with the approbation of both Houses of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliaments, by assent of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before exprest in the choice of Counsellours.

4. That he, or they, unto whom the Government and Education of the King's Children shall be committed, shall be approved-of by both Houses of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, by the assent of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before exprest in the choice of Counsellours: And that all such Servants as are now about them, against whom both Houses shall have any just exceptions, shall be removed.

5. That no Marriage shall be concluded, or treated, for any of the King's Children, with any forraign Prince, or other person whatsoever, abroad or at home, without the consent of Parliament, under the Penalty of a *Præmunire* unto such as shall be concluded, or treat any Marriage as aforesaid: And that the said Penalty shall not be pardoned or dispensed-with, but by the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

6. That the Laws, in force, against Jesuites, Priests, and Popish Recusants, be strictly put in execution, without any Toleration or Dispensation to the contrary: And that some more effectual course may be enacted by Authority of Parliament, to disable them from making any disturbance in the State, or eluding the Law by Trusts, or otherwise.

7. That the Votes of Popish Lords, in the House of Peers, may be taken-away, so long as they continue Papists: And that Your Majestie will consent to such a Bill as shall be drawn, for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants, in the Protestant Religion.

8. That

8. That Your Majestie will be pleased to consent that such a Reformation be made of the Church-Government, and Liturgie, as both Houses of Parliament shall advise; wherein they intend to have Consultations with Divines, as is expressed in their Declaration to that purpose: And that Your Majestie will contribute Your best assistance to them, for the raising of a sufficient Maintenance for preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdom: And that Your Majestie will be pleased to give Your Consent to Laws for the taking-away of Innovations, and Superstition, and of Pluralities, and against scandalous Ministers.

9. That Your Majestie will be pleased to rest satisfied with that course that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering of the *Militia*, until the same shall be further settled by a Bill: And that Your Majestie will recal Your Declarations and Proclamations against the Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons concerning it.

10. That such Member of either House of Parliament as have, during this present Parliament, been put out of any Place and Office, may either be restored to that Place and Office, or otherwise have satisfaction for the same, upon the Petition of that House whereof he or they are members.

11. That all Privy-Counsellours and Judges may take an Oath, the Form whereof to be agreed-on and settled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by this Parliament, which shall be mentioned by both Houses of Parliament: And that an enquiry of all the breaches and violations of those Laws, may be given in charge by the Justices of the King's Bench every Term, and by the Judges of Assize in their Circuits, and Justices of the Peace at the Sessions, to be presented and published according to Law.

12. That all the Judges, and all the Officers placed by approbation of both Houses of Parliament, may hold their places *quam diu bene se gesserint*.

13. That the Justice of Parliament may passe upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled out of it: And that all persons cited by either House of Parliament, may appear, and abide the censure of Parliament.

14. That the general Pardon offered by Your Majestie, may be granted with such Exceptions as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament.

15. That the Forts and Castles of this Kingdom may be put under the Command and Custodie of such persons as Your Majestie shall appoint, with the approbation of Your Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, with approbation of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before expressed in the choice of the Counsellours.

16. That the extraordinary Guards and Military Forces now attending Your Majestie, may be removed and discharged; and that, for the future, You will raise

raise no such Guards, or extraordinary Forces, but according to the Law, in case of actual Rebellion, or Invasion.

17. That Your Majestie will be pleased to enter into a more strict Alliance with the States of the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Princes, and States of the Protestant Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof against all designs and attempts of the Pope, and his adherents, to subvert and suppress it; whereby Your Majestie will obtain a great accesse of strength and reputation, and Your Subjects be much encouraged and enabled in a Parliamentary-way, for Your aid and assistance in restoring Your Royal Sister, and her Princely Issue, to those Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them, and relieving the other distressed and Protestant Princes who have suffered in the same Cause.

18. That Your Majestie will be pleased, by Act of Parliament, to clear the Lord *Kymbolton*, and the five Members of the House of Commons, in such manner, that future Parliaments may be secured from the consequence of that evil precedent.

19. That Your Majestie will be graciously pleased to passe a Bill for restraining Peers made hereafter from sitting or voting in Parliament, unlesse they be admitted thereunto with the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

And these, our humble Desires, being granted by Your Majestie, we shall forthwith apply ourselves to regulate Your present Revenue in such sort as may be for Your best advantage, and likewise to settle such an ordinary and constant increase of it, as shall be sufficient to support Your Royal Dignity in Honour and Plenty, beyond the proportion of any former Grants of the Subjects of this Kingdom to Your Majesties Royal Predecessours. We shall likewise put the Town of Hull into such hands as Your Majestie shall appoint, with the consent and approbation of Parliament, and deliver-up a just account of all the Magazine, and cheerfully employ the uttermost of our endeavours in the real expression and performance of our most dutiful and loyal affections, to the preserving and maintaining the Royal Honour, Greatnesse, and Safety, of Your Majesty and Your Posterity.

Hen. Elsyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

To these Propositions sent from the Parliament, the King returned such an Answer as shewed that he was much displeased with the whole Businesse: For before his particular Answers to the several Propositions, he complaineth in general, and those very sharp, expressions of the method of their proceedings against him: and that the Cabalists of this businesse (for so he calls them) have used

The King returns an Answer to this Petition, expressing great displeasure at many of the Propositions.

great

great art and subtilty against him, first to strengthen themselves with unlawful power, before they make their illegal demands. He taxes them, that first they had removed the Law itself, as a rub in their way, and pressed their own Orders and Ordinances upon the people (tending to a pure arbitrary power) as Laws, and required obedience to them, without the consent or concurrence of himself. That they had wrested from him the command of the *Militia*, (a thing inherent in his Crown) countenanced the Treason of HOTHAM against him, and directed to the people invectives against his Government, to weaken his just authority and due esteem among his Subjects; casting upon him aspersions of a strange nature, as, that he should favour a Rebellion in the bowels of his Kingdom. He complains likewise that they had broached (for so he calls it) a new Doctrine, namely, that the King is bound to passe all Laws that shall be offered to him by both Houses of Parliament: a point of policie fit for their present businesse, as destructive to all his Rights. That they have overawed his Subjects, in stifling all Petitions that did not please them; and filled the peoples ears with needlesse fears, and jealousies, and such like things, before they thought his Majestie sufficiently prepared to take those bitter Pills. For (saith he) *if they had unseasonably vented such Propositions, as the wisdom and modestie of their Predecessours never thought fit to offer to any of Our Progenitours, nor We, in honour or regard to Our Regal Authority, (which God hath intrusted Us with for the good of Our People) could receive without just indignation (for such many of the Propositions are) their hopes would soon have been blasted, and those persons to whom Offices, Honours, Power, and Commands were designed, by such ill-timing of their businesse, would have failed of their expectation, not without a brand upon the Attempt.* Therefore he saith, that they had made before-hand those fore-named preparations. The King seems to doubt likewise, (because the Parliament have not told him that this is all they desire of him,) that these Propositions are probably intended to make way for a Superfetation of a (yet) higher nature. And, in the Propositions in general, he observes, that the Contrivers of them (the better to advance their true ends) disguised, as much as they could, their intents, with a mixture of some things really to be approved by every honest man, others specious and popular, and some already granted by him: All which (saith he) are cunningly twisted, and mixed with other things of their main designe of ambition and private interest.

But the King desires not to be understood so, as if he intended to fix this designe upon both, or either House of Parliament: for he utterly professeth against it, being most confident of the loyalty, good affections, and integrity of the intentions of that great Body, and knowing well that very many of both Houses were absent, and many dissented from all those particulars of which he complains: but that he believes, and accordingly professes to all the world, that the malignity of this designe hath proceeded from the subtil informations, mischievous practices, and evil counsels of some ambitious, turbulent, spirits, disaffected to God's true Religion (using their own language) the Unity of the professors thereof, his Honour

Honour and Safety, and the publike peace and prosperity of the people. (And such other like general expressions).

In particular, the King expressed himself with great indignation against ten of their Propositions, which were the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19; averring, that, if they did intend the establishment of his honour, together with the security of his people (as their profession is) they would not offer him such Propositions: for that Profession, joyned to these Propositions, appeared to his judgement as a mockery and scorn.

He averreth further, that their Demands are such, as that he should be unworthy of his Royal descent from so many famous Ancestours, and unworthy of the Trust reposed in him by the Laws, if he should divest himself of such a power so inherent in his Crown, and assume others into a participation of it; protesting, that, if he were both vanquished and a prisoner, in worse condition than any, the most unfortunate, of his predecessours had ever been reduced unto, he would never stoop so lowe as to grant those demands, and to make himself, of a King of *England*, a Duke of *Venice*.

The several Answers that the King made, and Arguments that he used to each several branch of those Propositions, are too large to be here inserted, and may be read by those that would be further informed, in the printed Book of Parliament-Declarations and Ordinances *.

* The Book here referred-to was printed in this very same Year 1642, at London, for Edward Husbards, J. Warren, and R. Best, and sold at the Middle Temple, and at Gray's-Inn-gate, and at the White Horse in Paul's Church-yard: and it's Title was as follows; AN EXACT COLLECTION of all Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, Orders, Ordinances, Proclamations, Petitions, Messages, Answers, and other remarkable passages between the King's most Excellent Majesty and his High Court of Parliament; Beginning at his Majestie's return from Scotland, being in December, 1641, and continued until March the 21st, 1643.

WHICH were formerly published either by the KING'S Majestie's Command, or by Order from one, or both Houses of Parliament.

With a Table, wherein are most exactly digested all the fore-mentioned things according to their several Dates and Dependancies.

CHAP. V.

An Order for the bringing-in of Plate and Money into Guildhall. The King's Declaration to the Lords about him : Their Profession and Protestation to him. The King layeth Siege to Hull ; but raiseth it again. The Earl of Warwick taketh possession of the Navie, as Lord-Admiral. The Earl of Essex is voted in Parliament to be Lord-General of all their Forces.

The two Houses of Parliament pass Ordinances for raising Troops and Money without the King's concurrence, June 10, 1642.

ON the tenth day of June following, an Order was made by both Houses of Parliament, for bringing-in of Money and Plate, to maintain Horse, Horse-men, and Arms, for Preservation of the Publike Peace, and defence of the King's Person, (for that the Parliament, in their expressions, alwaies joyned together with their own safety) and both Houses of Parliament. Wherein it was expressed, that whosoever should bring-in any Money or Plate, or furnish any Horse-men and Arms for that purpose, should have their Money repayed with Interest, according to eight in the hundred ; for which both Houses of Parliament did engage the Publike Faith.

Four Treasurers were ordained, whose Acquittances for the receipt of any Sum, should be a sufficient ground to the Lenders to demand their Money and Plate again, with the Interest belonging thereunto. The Treasurers were, Sir JOHN WOLLASTON, Knight, and Alderman of London, Alderman TOWES, Alderman WARNER, and Alderman ANDREWES. Commissaries, also, were appointed to value the Horse and Arms which should be furnished for that service.

It was desired in that Order, that all men resident in, or about, London, or within 80 miles, would bring-in their Money, Plate, or Horse, within a fortnight after notice ; and they that dwell farther-off, within three weeks : and that those who intended to contribute within the time limited, but were not, for the present, provided of Money or Horse, should subscribe, that it might be soon known what provision

provision would be for effecting of that great and important Service. And, in conclusion, it was declared, that whatsoever was brought-in, should be employed to no other purposes but those before-mentioned; the maintenance of the Protestant Religion, the King's Person, dignity, and authority, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Priviledges of Parliament.

Whilst this Order was drawing-up, advertisement by Letters was given to the Parliament, that the Crown-Jewels were pawned at Amsteldam, and other places of the Netherlands; upon which money was taken-up, and Warlike Ammunition provided in those Parts, as Battering-pieces, Culverins, Field-pieces, Morter-pieces, Granadoes, with great store of powder, pistols, carabines, great saddles, and such like. Whereby the Parliament thought they could not otherwise judge than that the King did plainly intend a War against them, and had designed it long before.

They received intelligence, at the same time, that the King had sent a Commission of *Array* into *Leicestershire*, directed to the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and Mr. HENRY HASTINGS, second son to the Earl of *Huntington*; (for the Lord HASTINGS, eldest son to that Earl, did then adhere to the Parliament) which three were chief in the Commission; but many other Knights and Gentlemen of that County were named in it. Together with this Commission of *Array*, the King sent a Letter also, containing the reasons of it, wherein he complaineth that the Parliament, by their Ordinance for the *Militia*, would divest him of that power, which is properly inherent in his Crown. And for the occasion and reason of that Commission, he urgeth a Declaration of their own, using their very expressions and words in his Letter; that, whereas it hath been declared by Votes of both Houses of Parliament, the fifteenth of *March* last, that the Kingdom hath of late been, and still is, in evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a Popish discontented party at home; he concludes, that for the safeguard both of his own Person and People, there is an urgent and inevitable necessity of putting his people into a posture of defence, &c. Thus did the Parliament's Prologue to their Ordinance of *Militia*, serve the King's turn for his Commission of *Array*, *totidem verbis*. The copie of which Commission and Letter coming into the hands of the Parliament, it was resolved upon the Question by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that *this Commission of Array for Leicester is against Law, and against the Liberty and Property of the Subject*: and resolved again upon the Question, within two days after, *That all those that are actours in putting the Commission of Array in execution, shall be esteemed as disturbers of the Kingdom's Peace, and betrayers of the Liberty of the Subject*. It was also ordered by both Houses, that this Commission of *Array*, and the forementioned Votes, should be forthwith printed, and published throughout the Kingdom.

The King was not wanting to his own designe in the mean time, and whatsoever might give countenance to the businesse he had in hand: but made a short Declaration

claration to the Lords who then attended him at York, and others his Privy-Council there, in these words :

The King's Declaration to the Lords at York.

We do declare, that We will require no obedience from you, but what is warranted by the known Laws, as We expect that you shall not yeeld to any Commands not legally groundd, or imposed by any other. We will defend all you, and all such as shall refuse any such Commands, whether they proceed from Votes and Orders of both Houses, or any other way, from all danger whatsoever. We will defend the true Protestant Religion established by the Laws, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, and just Priviledges of all the three Estates of Parliament; and shall require no further obedience from you, than as We accordingly shall perform the same. We will not (as is falsely pretended) engage you in any War against the Parliament, except it be for Our necessary defence against such as do insolently invade, or attempt against, Us and Our Adherents.

Upon this Declaration of the King, those Lords and others of his Council made a Promise to him, and subscribed it with their hands, as followeth.

Their Profession and Protestation to him.

We do engage our selves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatsoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land. We engage our selves to defend Your Majestie's Person, Crown and Dignity, with Your just and legal Prerogative, against all Persons and Power whatsoever. We will defend the true Protestant Religion established by the Law of the land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, and the just Priviledges of Your Majestie, and both Houses of Parliament. Lastly, we engage our selves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance, whatsoever, concerning any Militia, that hath not the Royal Assent.

Subscribed by,

L. Keeper, D. of Richmond, Ma. Hertford, E. of Lindsey, E. of Cumberland, E. of Huntington, E. of Bath, E. of Southampton, E. of Dorset, E. of Salisbury, E. of Northampton, E. of Devonshire, E. of Bristol, E. of Westmerland, E. of Barkeshire, E. of Monmouth, E. of Rivers, E. of Newcastle, E. of Dover, E. of Carnarvan, E. of Newport, L. MOWBRAY and MATREVERS, L. WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, L. RICH, L. CHARLES HOWARD of Charleton, L. NEWARK, L. PAGET, L. CHANDOYS, L. FALCONBRIDGE, L. PAULET, L. LOVELACE, L. COVENTRY, L. SAVILE, L. MOHUN, L. DUNSMORE, L. SEYMOUR, L. GREY of Ruthen, L. FAWLKLAND, the Controller, Secretary NICHOLAS, Sir JOHN CULPEPER, Lord Chief Justice BANKS.

The

The King immediately wrote a Letter to the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Aldermen and Sheriffs, forbidding by expresse Command any Contribution of Money or Plate, toward the raising of any Arms whatsoever for the Parliament; and that they should lend no Money, unlesse toward the relief of *Ireland*, or payment of the Scots. He published then a Declaration to all his Subjects, inveighing bitterly against the Parliament, for laying a false and scandalous imputation upon him of raising War against the Parliament, or levying Forces to that end: in which he invites all his loving Subjects, to prevent his own danger, and the danger of the Kingdom from a malignant party (taking-up the Parliament's language) to contribute Money or Plate to him, and they shall be repayed, with consideration of eight in the hundred. And immediately upon it made a Profession before those forementioned Lords and Councillors about him (calling God to witness in it) disavowing any preparations or intentions to levie War against the Parliament: upon which, those forementioned Lords, and others, then present at *York*, made this Declaration and Profession, subscribed under their hands.

We whose names are under-written, in obedience to His Majestie's Desire, and out of the Duty which we owe to His Majestie's Honour, and to Truth, being here upon the place, and witnesses of his Majestie's frequent and earnest Declarations and Professions of His abhorring all designs of making War upon the Parliament; and not seeing any colour of Preparations or Counsels that might reasonably beget the belief of any such Designe, do professe before God, and testifie to all the world, that we are fully perswaded that His Majestie hath no such intention; but that all his endeavours tend to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant Religion, and the just Privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace, and Prosperity of this Kingdom.

A Declaration of the Lords at York, of their belief of the King's professions of his resolution to support the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of his subjects.

The King, strengthened with Arms and Ammunition from *Holland*, and more strengthened (for as yet he wanted hands to weild those Arms) by this Protestation of Lords in his behalf concerning his intention of not making War against the Parliament, whereby the people might more easily be drawn to side with him, proceeded in his business with great policie and indefatigable industry. His pen was quick in giving answer to all Petitions or Declarations which came from the Parliament; and with many sharp expostulations, in a well-compiled Discourse, on the 17th of *June*, answered a Petition of the Parliament; which Petition was to this effect, that he would not disjoyn his Subjects in their duty to himself and Parliament, destroying the Essence of that high Court; which was presented to him at *York* by the Lord HOWARD, Sir HUGH CHOLMLEY, and Sir PHILIP STAPLETON: and within three weeks, both in his own Person, and by his Messengers, with

with Speeches, Proclamations, and Declarations, advanced his businesse in a wonderful manner. At *Newark* he made a Speech to the Gentry of *Nottinghamshire* in a loving and winning way, commending their affections towards him; which was a great part of the perswasion for the future, coming from a King himselfe. Another speech he made at *Lincoln*, to the Gentry of that County, full of Protestations concerning his good intentions, not onely to them, but to the whole Kingdom, the Laws and Liberties of it. In that short time also, by the help of many subtil Lawyers, whom he had about him, he returned a very long and particular Answer, with arguing the case in all points*, to a Declaration which the Parliament had before made against the Commission of *Array*, expounding that Statute 5 HEN. 4, whereupon that Commission was supposed to be warranted. The proofs and arguments on both sides, are to be read at large in the Records, or in the printed Book of Ordinances and Declarations, where a Reader may satisfie his own judgement. Within that time also the King sent-out a Proclamation against levying Forces without his Command, urging Laws and Statutes for it: And another long Proclamation to inform the people of the legality of his Commissions of *Array*, and to command obedience to them. Another he sent-forth against the forcible seizing or removing any Magazine of Ammunition of any County; and another, forbidding all relieving or succouring of *Hull* against him. Upon which, the Parliament declared, that those Proclamations, without their assent, were illegal; and forbade all Sheriffs, Mayors, &c. to proclaim them, and all Parsons and Curates to read or publish them.

From *York* the King removed to *Beverley*; from whence he sent a Message to both Houses, and a Proclamation concerning his going to *Hull*, to take it in; requiring, before his journey, that it might be delivered-up to him. But that Message of his came to the House of Peers, after they had agreed upon a Petition, which was drawn-up, to move the King to a good accord with his Parliament, to prevent a Civil War; to be carried to him, and presented at *Beverley*, by the Earl of *Holland*, Sir JOHN HOLLAND, and Sir PHILIP STAPLETON. That very Petition seemed to them so full an answer to the King's Message, that both Houses resolved to give no other answer to that Message, but the said Petition. But immediately after, a Declaration was published by both Houses of Parliament, for the preservation and safety of the Kingdom, and the Town of *Hull*; with assurance of both Houses to satisfie all losse sustained by any service done for the safety of the said Town, by reason of overflowing of water upon the grounds there, to all persons who should be found faithful in their several services.

The King makes preparations for besieging the town of *Hull*.

The King continued resolute in his intention of gaining *Hull*: By what means he attempted it, and how those attempts proved to be frustrate, is now the subject of a short Discourse.

* These answers of the King were, for the most part, drawn-up by Mr. Edward Hyde, who was afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Lord Chancellor of England.

The

The Town of *Hull* was not more considerable to the Kingdom as a Maritime and strong place, than it was now made remarkable to the world in many high and famous circumstances of this Civil War : for which cause, I shall the more particularly insist upon it.

Hull was the place which (being intrusted with so rich a Magazine of Ammunition) did probably allure the King to forsake a Parliament sitting at *London*, and visite the North. *Hull* was the place where the King in person did, first, finde his Commands denied, and his attempts resisted in an actual way ; which proved the subject of so many Declarations and Disputations of State and Government : and *Hull* is the place which must now bear the first brunt of his armed Indignation.

The King, with an Army of three thousand foot, and one thousand horse, was removed from *York* to *Beverley*, a Town distant from *Hull* six miles ; and intending to besiege *Hull* by Land (expecting also that Sir John PENINGTON with some of his ships should stop the passages, and cut-off provisions from relieving the Town by Sea, though that expectation were made frustrate by the Earl of *Warwick*, his seizing on the Navie Royal) proclaimed that none, on pain of death, should convey any provision or relief thither. He disposed many men in cutting of Trenches, to divert the current of fresh water that ran to *Hull*, and sent two hundred horse into *Lincolnshire* under the command of the Lord WILLOUGHBY, son to the Earl of *Lindsey*, and Sir THOMAS GLENHAM, to stop all relief of it from *Burton* upon *Humber*.

Sir JOHN HOTHAM perceiving the King's intentions and endeavours, and knowing him to be in person within an hour and half's march of the Town, having, first, sent three Messengers, one after another, with humble Petitions to him, who were all laid-fast by the King, and not suffered to return ; called a Council of War, in which it was debated, Whether or not they should permit the enemies to march neer the Town with their Ordnance, holding them play from off the Walls and Out-works, until the Tide came to its height, and then draw-up the Sluce, and let them swim for their lives. But a more merciful advice prevailed, which was, (for prevention of so many deaths) to draw-up the Sluce presently, having the advantage of a Spring-tide, and drown all the Countrey about *Hull*. But Sir JOHN HOTHAM, before it was done, gave the inhabitants and owners of land thereabout sufficient and timely notice to remove their Cattel, and all their goods, and assured them (which was ratified by the Parliament upon the Publike Faith) that whatsoever damage they received thereby, should be repaired by the authority of Parliament, out of the estates of those persons who had been most active and assistant to the King in that designe.

Sir JOHN by Letters informed the Parliament in what condition the town was, desiring onely (so it might speedily be done) a supply of Money and Victuals, with five hundred men. Upon which, by command of Parliament, Drums were beat-

up in *London*, and other adjacent places, for Souldiers to be sent to *Hull* by Sea. The Earl of *Warwick* was desired by the Houses to send two of the King's ships from the *Downs* to *Hull*, to do as Sir JOHN HOTHAM should direct for his best assistance.

Sir John Meldrum is sent by the Parliament to assist Sir John Hotham in the defence of Hull.

assistance. And Sir JOHN MELDRUM, a Scottish Gentleman, an expert and brave Commander, was appointed to assist Sir JOHN in that service.

The King's Army were not confident to carry the Town by plain force, making their approaches with great difficulty and disadvantage, and those for the most part in the night-time, when, undiscovered, they burnt two Mills about the Town; they therefore had recourse to subtilty; and, knowing some within the Walls fit for their purpose, a Plot was therefore laid to fire the town in four places, which whilst the souldiers and inhabitants were busie in quenching, two thousand of the King's Army should assault the walls. The signe to those within the town, when to fire those places, was, when they discerned a fire on *Beverley-Minster*, this should be assurance to them within the town that they without were ready for the assault. But this treason had no successe, being discovered by one of the instruments, and confessed to Sir JOHN HOTHAM. Many particular services were done both by Land and Water, by Barks and Boats upon the River *Humber*.

The Townsmen of *Hull* were so far provoked by this treacherous designe of their enemies, and so much animated against them, that they all entered into Pay; and now the Walls could not contain them; but five hundred of the town, conducted by Sir JOHN MELDRUM, issued-out, about the end of *July*, upon their besiegers; who, seeing their approach, prepared courageously to receive and encounter them: but they were but a small part of the King's Forces which were resolute to fight; the other part, which consisted of the Trained-Bands of that Countrey, were not forward to be engaged against their neighbours: the King's Horse, and most resolute assistants, seeing themselves deserted by the Foot, retired as fast as they could to *Beverley*: but Sir JOHN MELDRUM pursued them, slew two, and took thirty prisoners in the pursuit. And not long after, when the supplies from *London* arrived at *Hull*, Sir JOHN MELDRUM, with a greater Force, made so fierce a sally upon his enemies, as caused most of the Leaguer to retire disorderly, one and twenty of them being slain, and fifteen taken prisoners. Sir JOHN MELDRUM, following the advantage of his successe with a swift motion, arrived suddenly at a Leaguer-town called *Aulby*, between three and four miles from *Hull*; where the King's magazine was kept in a Barn, in which was a great quantity of Ammunition, Powder, and Fire-balls, and certain Engineers employed there for making of Fire-works: Sir JOHN suddenly set upon it in the night, drove away the Guard, who consisted most of Trained-Bands, and other *Yorkshire* men, bearing no great affection to the War, and therefore ran more speedily away, leaving their Arms behinde them: much of the Ammunition and other Arms they took-away with them, fired the Barn, the Powder, and Fireworks, and what else they could not carry with them, and returned safely again into *Hull*.

The King abandons
the siege of Hull.

Sir John Meldrum
is sent by the Par-
liament to assist Sir
John Hotham in the
defence of Hull.

The King, calling a Council of War, and (considering the ill successe of his proceedings, and the preciousness of that time which he consumed there,) by their advice resolved to break-up his siege before *Hull*, and march away; the chief men about him laying the fault of this failing upon the unskilfulnesse of the Countrey Captains, and cowardice of the Trained Bands. The King probably might have
sped

sped better, if Sir JOHN PENINGTON could have brought part of the Navie to his assistance: but that was seized by the Earl of *Warwick*; of which it will be now time to speak more particularly.

The Earl of *Warwick* had, in former times, been so great a lover of the Sea-service, and so well experienced in those affairs (being, besides, a man of Courage, of Religious life, and known Fidelity to his Country,) that, among all the Noble-men at this time, he was esteemed by the Parliament (in this important businesse of settling their *Militia* by Land and Sea) the fittest man to take Command of the Navie, as Lord-Admiral. According to that, an Ordinance of both Houses was drawn-up, to confer the Office on him.

Of the Earl of Warwick.

He is appointed by the Parliament to the Office of Lord-Admiral.

The King had given the employment to Sir JOHN PENINGTON, a man who had long been Vice-Admiral, and a successeful Commander; and he had written his Letters to the Earl of *Warwick*, with a strict Command to quit the Place. The Earl of *Warwick* was in a great straight between two such high Commands, being gone-down to take possession of the Navie; and he therefore called a Council of War, acquainting them all, both with the Ordinance of Parliament, and the King's Letters. But the Earl himself was swayed in conscience to give obedience rather to the Ordinance of Parliament; and the reason of it himself gives in a Letter directed to a Lord of the House. *When I considered (saith he) the great care which I have seen in the Parliaments of this Kingdom, for the good and safety both of King and Kingdom, and every man's particular in them; and that they are the great Council, by whose authority the Kings of England have ever spoken to their Subjects; I was resolved to continue in this employment, until I shall be revoked by that Authority that hath intrusted me with it.*

Most of the Captains took-up unanimously the same resolution that the Earl did, excepting five, which were the Rere-Admiral, Captain FOGGE, Captain BAILY, Captain SLINGSBY, and Captain WAKE, who alledged that they had the King's Command to obey Sir JOHN PENINGTON, whom he had appointed Admiral instead of the Earl of *Northumberland*. These five had gotten-together round, to make defence against the Earl: but he came to Anchor about them, and having begirt them, summoned them again; upon which three of them came-in, and submitted: two onely, Captain SLINGSBY and Captain WAKE, stood-out. The Earl let flie a Gun over them, and turned-up the Glasse upon them, sending his Boat, and most of the Boats in the Fleet, to let them know their danger, if they came not within that space. But so peremptory was their answer, that the Masters and Sailors grew impatient; and, although they had no Arms, assaulted them, seized upon those Captains, being armed with their Pistols and swords, strook their Yards and Top-masts, and brought them to the Earl. Thus by the wonderful courage of these unarmed men, the businesse was ended without effusion of any blood, when the Earl was ready to give fire upon them.

And is admitted to the command of the whole Fleet.

Within few days after, another addition of strength was brought to the Earl of *Warwick* by an accident. A great and strong ship of the King's, called the *Lion*, putting to Sea from *Holland*, and bound for *Newcastle*, being much distressed

with foul weather, was driven into the *Downs*. Captain FOXE, who commanded that ship, saluted the Earl of *Warwick*, who presently acquainted the Captain with the Ordinance of Parliament, whereby his Lordship had command of those ships, requiring his submission thereunto. The Captain at first refused to yeeld obedience to the Ordinance, and thereupon was presently clapt in hold : but all his Officers in the ship submitted themselves, and strook their Sails and Top-yards in token of obedience to the said Ordinance. This ship was very considerable, carrying two and fourty great Pieces of brasse Ordnance ; besides, a little Vessel laden with Gun-powder of a great value, was taken also together with this ship. The Earl was informed by some of her men, that young Prince RUPERT and Prince MAURICE, with divers other Commanders, intended to have come from *Holland* in this ship, the *Lion*. But after three days and three nights storm at Sea, those two Princes (in a sick and weak condition) landed again in *Holland*.

The King hearing of the surprisal of the *Lion*, sent a Messenger to the Earl of *Warwick*, to demand her again, with all the goods therein, and that she should be brought to *Scarborough*. But the Earl returned an Answer to this effect, that the Parliament had intrusted him with the Care of the Fleet, and that that ship was a part thereof : therefore he humbly besought his Majestie to pardon him ; for without their consent he might not part with her ; and that he knew of no goods within her belonging to his Majestie.

But, leaving the Earl of *Warwick* to his Sea-employments, it is time to return to those warlike Levies and Preparations which were made by Land : for now the fatal time was come, when those long and tedious Paper-conflicts of Declarations, Petitions, and Proclamations, were turned into actual and bloody Wars, and the Pens seconded by drawn swords.

The Parliament orders a Land-army to be raised ; July 12, 1642.

On the twelfth of *July*, 1642, the Parliament voted that an Army should be raised for the safety of the King's Person, and defence of the Parliament ; for so they called it, desiring to joyn together what seemed to be at so great a distance and enmity.

And appoints the Earl of Essex to be General of it.

The Earl of *Essex* was by a great and unanimous consent of both Houses chosen General of that Army, and of all Forces raised for the Parliament ; with whom they protested to live and die in that Cause.

The Earl of *Essex* was a Gentleman of a noble and most untainted reputation, of undoubted loyalty to his Country and Prince ; having always (what course soever the Court steered) served in an honourable way, the right interest of the English Nation, and the Protestant Religion ; and to that end had formerly engaged himself in the *Palatine War*, and service of the *Netherland United Provinces* : insomuch as at this time, when they sought a Lord to undertake the high charge of commanding in chief, there seemed to be no choice at all ; but we may say of this Election, as PATERCULUS did of another, *Non quærendus erat quem eligerent, sed eligendus qui eminebat*.

The Parliament at that time were very able to raise Forces, and arm them well, by reason of the great masse of Money and Plate which to that purpose was heaped-up

up in *Guild-hall*, and daily increased by the free Contribution of those that were well-affected to the Parliament Cause: where not onely the wealthiest Citizens and Gentlemen who were neer-dwellers, brought-in their large bags and goblets; but the poorer sort, like that widow in the Gospel, presented their mites also; inso-much that it was a common Jeer of men disaffected to the Cause, to call it the Thimble and Bodkin-Army.

The Earl of *Essex* was very careful and industrious in raising of his Army; in which he desired to have as great a Body of Horse as could conveniently be gotten, by reason that he conceived his chief work was to seek-out the King's Forces, and prevent their spoiling of the Country, and disarming several Counties, to furnish themselves. And indeed, his Forces, considering the long Peace of *England*, and unreadinesse of Arms, were not onely raised, but well-armed in a short time. Many of the Lords who then sate in the House of Peers (besides those Lords who went into divers Counties to settle the *Militia*, and therefore raised Forces for safety of those several Places) listed themselves in the Lord General's Army, and took Commissions as Colonels; the Lord *ROBERTS*, the Lord *SAINT-JOHN*, eldest son to the Earl of *Bullenbrook*, the Lord of *Rochford*, eldest son to the Earl of *Dover*: and many Gentlemen of the House of Commons, of greatest rank and quality there, took Commissions for Horse and Foot-service in that Army; of whom these were some: Sir *JOHN MERRIC*, who was made Serjeant-Major-General of that Army; the Lord *GREY* of *Grooby*, son to the Earl of *Stamford*; Master *DENZIL HOLLIS*, Master *HAMDEN*, Sir *PHILIP STAPLETON*, Sir *WILLIAM WALLER*, Sir *SAMUEL LUKE*, Sir *HENRY CHOLMLY*, Master *GRANTHAM*, Master *WHITLOCK*, with divers others. The Earl of *Bedford*, within two days after that the Earl of *Essex* was chosen *Generalissimo*, was voted to be General of the Horse.

The Earl of Bedford is appointed by the Parliament their General of the Horse.

CHAP. VI.

A brief Relation of the condition of divers Counties in England, when the Parliament's Ordinance for the Militia, and the King's Commission of Array, were put in execution. With a mention of some Lords and others who were actors on either side. The Lord Mayor of London committed to the Tower, and sentenced by the Parliament. A mention of some Declarations, Messages, and Answers, that passed between the King and the two Houses of Parliament.

DURING the time that this Army was raising for the Parliament, to be conducted by his Excellency in person, the King, with small strength as yet, was removing from place to place to gather Forces, and draw people to his side, Of whose proceedings, and by what degrees he encreased in power, I shall speak hereafter in a continued Series, to avoid confusion in the Story. But in the mean time, the Parliament's Ordinance of *Militia*, and the King's Commission of *Array*, were justling together almost in every County: the greatest of the English Nobility on both sides appearing personally, to seize upon those places which were deputed to them either by the King or by the Parliament. No Ordinances from the One, or Proclamations from the Other, could now give any further stop to this general and spreading Mischief. God was not pleased that one Chimney should contain this Civil fire; but small sparks of it were daily kindling in every part of the Land.

Let it not therefore seem amisse, if in the first place I make a brief Relation into what posture every particular County, or most of them, had endeavoured to put themselves, during that time, which was since the twelfth of *July*, when the first apparent denouncing of War began, and the General was elected in Parliament;

till

till the three and twentieth of *October*, when it broke-out into a fierce and cruel Battel. But let not the Reader expect any full, or perfect, Narration of this, which would take-up too great a time, and prove as tedious as unnecessary. The onely reason why I have entered into it, is to inform the Reader what Lords and Gentlemen did first appear in action on either side, in those particular Counties, that in the progresse of the Story he may be better acquainted with those names, whose Actions proved of so high concernment in the future War. Nor can any perfect Judgement be made of the affections or condition of any one County in this brief Narration of so short a time: for scarce was there any City or Shire, but endured in processe of time many Changes, and became altered from their first condition, either by unconstancy of affections, or else enforced to take a new side, as they were threatned by approaching Armies of either party, when the War grew to a greater height.

In some Counties there was no struggling at all, one side wholly prevailing, and the People's affections bending the same way: as it appeared in *Lincolnshire* at the first, (which was the first account given to the Parliament of their *Militia*, and where some circumstances are of that note, as to make it justly deserve a more particular recital than other places) when the Lord WILLOUGHBY of *Parham* went-down thither, being chosen by the Parliament Lord-Lieutenant of that County. This young Lord, being come to *Lincoln*, expresth to the Parliament what cheerful and hearty obedience he found from the Captains and Officers of the Trained-Bands, and in how good a posture they were, beyond all expectation; considering the unhappinesse of the Plague being then in the Town, which hindered the appearance of some: but that was fully supplied by a Company of Volunteers, equal in number and goodnesse of Arms to the Trained-Bands. Yet that Change which I spake of before, did afterwards sadly appear in this County, which was afterwards as much divided in itself as any part of *England*, and by that means became a most unhappie seat of War, often gained and lost again by either side. *Lincolnshire* was then very forward for the Lord WILLOUGHBY (however afterward he found some resistance from the Earl of *Lindsey*, who sided with the King) as he wrote-up to the Parliament, and sent also to them the King's Letter, and his own Answer: Which are both fit to be inserted into the Story, being the first of that kinde, and much unfolding the nature of the businesse.

The inhabitants of
Lincolnshire adhere
to the Parliament.

The King's Letter to the Lord WILLOUGHBY of Parham.

CHARLES REX.

Right Trusty and Wellbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas We understand that you have begun to assemble, train and muster the Trained-Bands of Our County of *Lincoln*, under pretence of an Ordinance of Parliament whereto We have not given Our consent, which is not onely contrary to the
Law,

Law, but to Our Command and Pleasure, signified by Our Proclamation sent to Our High Sheriff of that Our County. Wherefore, that you may not hereafter plead ignorance of such Our Prohibition, We do by these Our Letters command and charge you, upon your Allegiance, to desist and forbear to raise, train, exercise or assemble together, any part of the Trained Bands of Our said County, either by yourself, or by any others employed under you, or by warrant from you. And because you may, for what you have already done concerning the Militia of that Our County, plead, that you had not so particular a Command, We shall passe by what you have already done therein, so as presently, upon your receipt hereof, you shall desist and give-over meddling any further with any thing concerning the Militia of that Our County. But if you shall not presently desist, and forbear meddling therewith, We are resolved to call you to a strict account for your disobedience therein, after so many particular and legal Commands given you, upon your Allegiance, to the contrary; and shall esteem and proceed against you, as a disturber of the Peace of the Kingdom.

Given at our Court at York, the fourth of June, 1642.

To Our Right Trusty and Wellbeloved, the
Lord WILLOUGHBY of Parham.

The Lord WILLOUGHBY of Parham, his Letter in Answer to His
Majestie.

SIR,

As there can be nothing of greater unhappinesse to me, than to receive a Command from Your Majestie whereunto my endeavours cannot give so ready an obedience as my affections; so I must confesse the difficulty at this time not a little, how to expresse that Duty which I owe to Your Majestie's late Commands, and not falsifie that Trust reposed in me by Your high Court of Parliament; through whose particular directions I am now come into this County to settle the Militia, according to the Ordinance of Parliament, which by the votes of my Lord LITTLETON, and others in the House of Peers, better versed in the Laws than myself, passed as a legal thing; and hath since been confirmed (if I mistake not) by his example, and Your Majestie's Chief Justice Sir JOHN BANKS, both in accepting their Ordinance, and nominating their Deputy-Lieutenants: how much further they proceeded, I know not.

- But,

But, Sir, if the opinions of those great Lawyers drew me into an act unsuitable to Your Majesties liking, I hope the want of yeers will excuse my want of judgement. And, since, by the Command of the Parliament, I am now so far engaged in their Service as the sending-out Warrants to summon the County to meet me this day at Lincoln, and afterwards in other places; I do most humbly beseech Your Majesty not to impose that Command on me, which must needs render me false to those that relie on me, and so make me more unhappie then any other misery that can fall upon me.

These things, Sir, I once more humbly beseech Your Majestie, may be taken into Your Gracious consideration; and that You would never be pleased to harbour any misconceit of me, or of this Action; since nothing hath yet passed by my Commands here, or ever shall, but what shall tend to the honour and safety of Your Majesties Person, to the preservation of the Peace of Your Kingdoms, and to the content (I hope) of all Your Majestie's Subjects in these parts, amongst whom I remain,

Your Majestie's most humble and most

dutiful Subject and Servant,

FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY.

Upon the receipt of these Letters, the Lords sent a Message to the House of Commons, in which they expressed how much they did value and approve the endeavours of this Lord in a service so much importing the safety of this Kingdom, not doubting of their readinesse to concur with them, upon all occasions, to manifest the sense they have, and shall retain, of his deservings; which appear the greater, by how much the difficulties (appearing by the circumstances of those Letters) have been greater. The Lords, therefore, as they resolved to make his Interest their own, in this Service for the publike good and safety of the Kingdom; so they desired the Commons to joyn with them in so just and necessary a work. To this the House of Commons consented, and resolved to joyn with the Lords in this Vote, making the like resolution also for the Deputy-Lieutenants for the County of *Lincoln*, and desired the Lords concurrence therein. Upon which it was ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that they agree with the House of Commons for the resolution concerning the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of *Lincoln*.

In *Essex* also, (which proved a most unanimous County, and by that means continued in peace and happinesse,) the Earl of *Warwick* (whose care and action was not confined onely to the Sea) had been chosen Lord-Lieutenant by the Parliament, and, when he went-down to muster and exercise the Country, was received with great applause. The Trained-Bands were not onely compleat, but increased by Volunteers to unusual numbers; and so affectionate to that Cause they were in general, that

The people of the County of *Essex* also adhere zealously to the Parliament.

that they presented a Petition to the Earl of *Warwick* and the Deputy-Lieutenants, in the name of all the Captains and Lieutenants of the several Companies, and in the name of all persons belonging to the Trained-Bands. To which Petition, when it was read in the field, they expressed a full consent by their general acclamations and applause in every Company. The Earl of *Warwick* therefore sent the Petition to the Parliament, to let them see the extraordinary alacrity and affection of that County of *Essex* to them: which was in these words, which follow.

To the Right Honourable ROBERT Earl of Warwick, Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Essex; and to the worthy Gentlemen the Deputy-Lieutenants of the same County, confided-in by the most Honourable the high Court of Parliament.

“ We, the Captains and Lieutenants, with the full consent of the Trained-Bands
 “ and Voluntiers of the County now assembled, having, before the accesse of this
 “ present Parliament, seen our Religion, our Laws and Liberties, brought to the
 “ brink of ruine and subversion, by the results of most desperate and wicked
 “ Counsels, could not but with exceeding joy behold the assembling and con-
 “ tinuance of so great and faithful a Council (the Representative Body of this
 “ Kingdom) and with most certain confidence commit thereto all that was dear
 “ unto us.

“ And, having also seen the late hellish designes and actings of a malignant
 “ party in this Kingdom, and the bloody Rebellion in *Ireland*, all working to
 “ retard the progresse, or subvert the being, of this worthy Parliament, and therein
 “ to bereave us of all our hopes of Reformation, or future peace and happiness to
 “ this Church or State; we cannot but ascribe all glory and praise unto the Lord
 “ of lords, and expresse most hearty thankfulness to his blessed Instruments, that
 “ great Assembly, for their undaunted resolutions, unparallell’d endeavours, and
 “ happie proceedings for the common good. And herein (as not the least means
 “ of our safety) for the most necessary and seasonable Ordinance of theirs touching
 “ the *Militia*, whereby we are put under the Command and Guidance of so
 “ noble a Lord, and such worthy Gentlemen, whereunto we humbly desire this
 “ present day and meeting may be an evidence and pledge of our free and
 “ willing obedience.

“ Having intrusted our Religion, our Laws, and all, into the hands of that
 “ great and most faithful Council, the Parliament, whose care and fidelity we have
 “ so abundantly found; we even bleed to see the heart and actions of our Royal
 “ King (contrary to his own Royal expressions) declining from the Counsels of
 “ his Parliament, and carried after other Counsels, whom as the Laws and Consti-
 “ tutions of this Land have not known nor reposed upon, so we (for own parts)
 “ neither will nor dare intrust them with our Religion or Laws: and whom, we
 “ verily

“ verily believe, could they prevail against that highest Court, (under God our
 “ chiefest Bulwark and Defence) would soon deprive us both of Religion and
 “ Law, and (notwithstanding all their specious pretences) reduce us to a condition
 “ no less miserable than slavish.

“ From the deep apprehensions of all which, we do freely and heartily pro-
 “ mise and tender our persons and estates to assist and defend (to the uttermost)
 “ the high Court of Parliament now assembled, the Members, Power, and Privi-
 “ ledges thereof; and therein, his Majestie’s Person and Authority, and the
 “ Kingdom’s Peace, (according to our late Protestation) against all contrary
 “ Counsels, Power, or force of Arms, whatsoever, which shall be reared-up, or
 “ attempted, against them.

“ And this our humble Acknowledgement and Resolution, (which, we doubt
 “ not, will be accorded-unto by all good Subjects) we humbly desire your
 “ Honour and Worships to tender, on our behalf, to that most honourable
 “ Assembly of Parliament: for whose happy progresse and successe we shall
 “ daily pray.

Subscribed.

J. KITELEY, HENRY FARRE, JOHN BALLEET, JOHN FLEMMING, WILLIAM
 MARSHAM, ROBERT BARRINGTON, Captains. THOMAS HARPER, JOHN
 WOODCOCK, RICHARD LAWRENCE, GEORGE COLWEL, THOMAS CLARK,
 WILLIAM BURLS, Lieutenants.

The Parliament were very forward to expresse their approbation of this most
 affectionate Declaration of the *Essex* men, and returned them an Answer; part
 of which was in this manner.

*This just and faithful resolution of theirs to the publike good, the Lords and Com-
 mons do not onely approve, but commend; assuring them that, as their endeavours
 have been for the Peace and Happinesse of the King and Kingdom, so they will
 persist in discharge of the great and publike Trust which lies upon them; to go
 thorow all difficulties which may oppose the publike Peace and Welfare of this
 Kingdom; and will, upon all occasions, be ready to expresse, particularly to those
 persons, that respect which is due to persons from whom they have received so
 great assurance of affection and fidelity.*

In *Kent* there was cheerful obedience (without any open opposition) shewed to
 the Ordinance of the *Militia*; as it appeared by their Petition and Proclamation,
 and more by their real and constant actions. True it is, that some Gentlemen of
 that County were not much affected to the Parliament’s Cause, who did accordingly
 frame a displeasing Petition to the Houses, and brought it up to *London*, accom-
 panied with many Gentlemen of that County: but the Parliament, having notice of
 it, sent Officers, and disarmed those Gentlemen who brought the Petition, before
 they passed over *London-bridge*: and the two which presented it to the House of
 Commons, Sir WILLIAM BUTLER and Mr. RICHARD LOVELACE, were both
 committed.

The majority of the
 people of Kent also
 adhere to the Parlia-
 ment.

committed. Those in *Kent* who favoured the King's party and Commission of *Array*, were not a number considerable enough to bring that County into any combustion; the Gentlemen which adhered to the Parliament used so great a care and industry in settling the *Militia*, in disarming those few (but great) Papists that were among them, in raising Arms, and taxing themselves at high rates for the service of the Parliament, that they not onely preserved their own County in quiet, but gave great assistance to the Parliament-Armies in other places, as will appear in the sequel of this Story.

Sussex.

The Eastern end of *Sussex* (it being a long and narrow County, lying for many miles upon the Sea) stood firm to the Parliament, and were very industrious in settling of the *Militia*, by which means they were so happy as to preserve themselves in peace and quietnesse. But the Western part of that County, by means of many revolted Members of the Parliament, who resided there, together with their Allies and friends, was, at the first, in some distraction, though it continued not very long.

Surrey and Middlesex.

Surrey and *Middlesex*, by fortune of their situation, could not but side with, and, by consequence, be protected by, the Parliament.

Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire.

The Eastern Counties, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*, (once the Kingdom of the *East Angles*;) were happily kept from the beginning without any great combustion; though it were certain that many of the chief Gentry in those Counties bended in their affections to the King's Commission of *Array*. But they were not a party strong enough to engage their Countries in a War: For the Freeholders and Yeomen in general adhered to the Parliament; and those Gentlemen who attempted to raise men, or draw Forces together, or provide Arms for the King, were soon curbed, and all their endeavours crushed at the beginning, by those of the other side; and especially by the great wisdom and indefatigable industry of Master OLIVER CROMWELL, a Member of the House of Commons, who had taken a Commission for Colonel of Horse from the Parliament: of whose particular actions there will be high occasion to discourse hereafter.

Hampshire.

The County of *Southampton* began at the first to be divided, and continued so, being long and variously perplexed with the changing fortunes of either side. Colonel GORING, eldest son to the Lord GORING, who had been, the year before, a means to detect that Conspiracie of bringing-up the Northern Army against the Parliament, (of which already hath been spoken) and by that, had grown into some Trust with the Parliament, of which he was a Member, was sent-down to *Portsmouth*, to keep that place for them; and three thousand pounds were allowed him for the charges of Fortification. He, receiving that money from the Parliament, broke his Trust, and kept the Place for the King against them; with what successe, shall hereafter be declared. But, immediately after his revolt, the Earl of *Portland*, Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, a man suspected by the Parliament, was committed to custody in *London*, for security of his person, lest he should comply with Colonel GORING, and command that Island for the King's party. The

Colonel Goring deserts the Parliament.

The Isle of Wight.

Government

Government of *Wight* was then committed to the Earl of *Pembroke*, a man of whose fidelity the Parliament doubted not.

Though the Southern and Eastern parts of *England* enjoyed some shew of rest, the Counties more remote from *London*, toward the North and West, could not at all partake of that happinesse.

In *Lancashire* the Lord STRANGE, son to the Earl of *Derby*, who was made *Lancashire*. Lord-Lieutenant of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire* by the King, seeking to put the Commission of *Array* in execution, found great resistance from the Parliamentary Gentlemen, Sir THOMAS STANLEY, Master HOLLAND, Master HOLCRAFT, Master EGERTON, Master BOOTH, as also Master ASHTON, and Master MOOR, both Members of the House of Commons; by whom, within the space of few months, he was quite driven out of the County, and that Shire wholly ruled by the Parliament, though it abounded more with Papists than any other.

The Lord STRANGE, upon the fifteenth day of *July*, had made an attempt to gain *Manchester*, and by those Gentlemen was repulsed; where one man was slain; which was the first blood shed in these Civil Wars. But this Lord was not at all fortunate in service against the Parliament; who, not long after, returned again with a great Force, consisting of three thousand men, to the Town of *Manchester*; where, after he had sharply besieged it for the space of two whole weeks, he was at last quite beaten, with the losse of many of his men. The King's troops under Lord Strange are repulsed at Manchester, July 15, 1642.

In *Cheshire* also, the other County of which he was made Lieutenant by the *Cheshire*, King, his fortune was no better; where he was resisted by Sir WILLIAM BRETON and other Gentlemen, and hindered from seizing the Magazine of that County, as he intended. Nor could the Earl of *Rivers*, whom the King had put into the Commission of *Array* (being a Papist) assist him sufficiently to make good that County for the King, but that the Papists were all disarmed there by those Protestant Gentlemen that adhered to the Parliament.

Further North, the Countries were more full of variance. The Earl of *Newcastle*, with a strong Garrison, kept for the King the Town of *Newcastle*. And the Earl of *Cumberland*, made Lord-Lieutenant of *York-shire* by the King, was *Yorkshire*. active in putting the Commission of *Array* in execution: but they were resisted by the Lord FAIRFAX, and others of the Parliamentary Gentlemen. But this businesse of the North shall now be passed-over, deserving a larger Story hereafter, when time shall require, to speak of the Earl of *Newcastle's* greatness, and the various fortunes of the Lord FAIRFAX and his son Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX.

In *Derbyshire*, where many great Lords and Gentlemen inhabited, none at all of *Derbyshire*. note stood for the Parliament, but Sir JOHN GELL and his brother: of whose actions it will be seasonable to speak in another place.

Staffordshire and *Nottinghamshire* were in no lesse combustion. Staffordshire and Nottinghamshire.

In *Leicestershire* the troubles were far greater, and early begun by Master *Leicestershire*, HENRY HASTINGS, second son to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, whom the King had made Sheriff of that County, and put into the Commission of *Array*; who raised

great Forces to seize upon the Magazines of that County. Against whom the Earl of *Stamford* was sent by the Parliament, as Lord-Lieutenant, with a considerable strength, who arrived there, did much curb the proceedings of Master *HASTINGS*, and took possession of the Town of *Leicester*.

Warwickshire.

Great was the Contention about that time in *Warwickshire*, between the Earl of *Northampton* for the King, and the Lord *BROOK* for the Parliament, not without sharp encounters, and slaughter on either side. The Earl having seized the Ordnance at *Banbury*, marched with great fury into *Warwickshire*, spoiling the Countrey as he went, though not without opposition of the people, and the Lord *BROOK*'s Forces; against whom he could not at all prevail.

Wiltshire.

Berkshire.

The Earl of *Pembroke* had settled the Militia in *Wiltshire* with small ado, though it continued not long so. And the Earl of *Holland* in *Berkshire*, being but faintly resisted by the Earl of *Berkshire*, the Lord *LOVELACE*, and others. For soon after the Earl of *Berkshire*, together with Sir *JOHN CURSON*, Sir *ROBERT DORMER*, and others for the Commission of *Array*, who came to *Watlington* in *Oxfordshire*, to seize the Magazine of that part of the County, which was laid-up in that Town, were there taken prisoners, and sent-up to the Parliament by Colonel *HAMDEN* and Colonel *GOODWIN*, two Members of the House of Commons, and Knights of the Shire for *Buckingham*.

The Western counties.

But the further that this Discourse travels Westward, the greater and more remarkeably you shall finde such contestations; especially considering the number of Lords and Gentlemen of great rank, and many of them Members of Parliament, who sided with the King against the Parliament, and were therefore afterward voted out of the House. One great Head there was of all those Western Counties, *WILLIAM*, Marquesse of *Hartford*, whom the King, by his Commission of *Array*, had appointed Chief, and made him Lord-Lieutenant-General of *Devon*, *Cornwall*, *Somerset*, *Dorset*, *Wilts*, *Southampton*, *Gloucester*, *Berks*, *Oxford*, *Hereford*, and seven Counties within the Principality of *Wales*: who, notwithstanding his high Command, was never able to atchieve any great matter for the King's side; so much were the common people of the West at that time inclined to the Parliament, and so active were those Gentlemen who stood for it; such as were the sons of Sir *FRANCIS POPHAM*, Master *ALEXANDER POPHAM*, *HUGH*, and *EDWARD*, who were more animated by the example of their aged father; Master *STRODE*, a Deputy-Lieutenant, and others, against all those frequent attempts which the Marquesse made.

The Marquis of Hartford is made Lord-Lieutenant of them all by the King.

Great was the number of considerable men in those Countries, which took part with the Marquesse against the Parliament, and very industrious in their several Stations, to put in execution the Commission of *Array*; as the Lord *PAWLET*, Sir *RALPH HOPTON*, and Sir *JOHN STOWEL*, both Members of the House of Commons, and for that reason put out of the House. Sir *RICHARD SLANY*, in *Cornwal*, another Member, put out also for the same cause; as likewise were Sir *EDWARD RODNEY*, and Master *COVENTRY*, both Parliament-men, who followed the Marquesse in some of his actions. Sir *BEVILE GREENVILE*, an active man,

man, another Member of Parliament, was very industrious for the *Array*, both in *Cornwal* and *Devon*, joyning himself with the Earl of *Bath*, came for that purpose to his house at *Tastock*, in *Devonshire*, and assisted by many Gentlemen, as Master *CULINS*, Sheriff of that County, M. *BAMFIELD*, M. *ASHFORD*, M. *GIF-FORD*, M. *SAITHIL*, Baronet *SEYMOUR*, and M. *COURTNEY*; to whose assistance Squire *ROGERS* came with Forces out of *Dorsetshire*.

Various were the Successes which Marquesse *Hartford*, assisted by so many of the Gentry, found in his several Enterprises; sometimes prevailing, but more often distressed. In one Skirmish, which, about the beginning of *August*, himself, the Lord *PAWLET*, Sir *RALPH HOPTON*, Sir *JOHN STOWEL*, and M. *SMITH*, another Member of the House of Commons, made against the Deputy-Lieutenants in *Somersetshire*, he prevailed against them, and possessed himself of the Town of *Shepton-Mallet*: Ten men were slain, and many wounded. Going afterwards to *Wells*, he had been besieged by many thousands of the People, who arose against him; but that having timely notice of their coming, he escaped a back-way out of the Town. About which time, the Earl of *Bedford* was sent down by the Parliament against him, with three hundred Horse: by whom the Lord Marquesse, the Lord *PAWLET*, Sir *RALPH HOPTON*, Colonel *LUNSFORD*, and many other considerable men, were besieged in *Sherburn*. For great numbers out of the Country came daily to the assistance of the Earl of *Bedford*. Many weeks did that Siege continue; many Sallies were made out, and sharp encounters on both sides performed with great courage: the Parliament side being in firm hope to have taken them at last; which was conceived a thing of great moment, and advantage to their affairs, if they could have possessed the persons of so many men, considerable both in their Fortunes and Valour; and who proved afterwards very strong and cruel enemies. Yet that hope was frustrate: for about the beginning of October they all escaped out of *Sherburn*: the Earl nevertheless pursued after them, and in the Chase took M. *PALLART*, Sir *HENRY*, Sir *JOHN*, and Sir *CHARLES BARCLAY*, prisoners. Within a week after, the Earl of *Bath* was apprehended, and brought-up a prisoner to the Parliament.

Sherburn is besieged by the troops of the Parliament. In August, 1642.

It cannot be much wondered-at, that Division was found in Countrey-Towns and Villages so far remote from the Parliament, where the people were variously wrought-upon by perswasions or fears from either side: when *London* itself, the Seat of that great Council, and chiefest Bulwark of their defence, was not without some taste of these Distractions. Which, besides the actions of some private Citizens, too petty to be here rehearsed, may appear to the Reader in one thing, which cannot be omitted: The Lord Mayor of *London* was at this time a prisoner in the Tower, committed by the Parliament.

Sir *RICHARD GURNEY*, Lord-Mayor of *London* for that year, was charged by the House of Commons on the seventh of *July*, for being a mover of Sedition in the Kingdom, in causing the King's Proclamation concerning the Commission of *Array* (which was declared by both Houses to be illegal) to be proclaimed in the City.

The Lord Mayor of London is imprisoned by the Parliament for taking part with the King against them. July 7, 1642.

City. And the Charge being perfected, was sent-up to the Lords, desiring that he might forthwith be called to his Answer ; which was accordingly granted.

Four days after, while the Lord Mayor was attending the Lords House upon this Charge, an additional Impeachment was read against him in the House of Commons, brought-in by the Common-Council of *London*, for divers breaches of his Oath in execution of his Office, for proclaiming divers illegal Proclamations, and contemning the Orders of Parliament.

This Impeachment was forthwith sent up, and read in the Lords House. Upon the reading of which, it was ordered that he should be sent to the Tower, from thence to be brought to a legal Trial upon his Impeachment.

Many days, during the space of a whole month, was this Lord-Mayor brought from the Tower to *Westminster*, to attend the Lords of Parliament, and many times returned back without being heard, by reason of so great a multiplicity of Businesses as the Houses were then in.

He is tried by the House of Lords, and found guilty, and condemned to a punishment. August 12, 1649.

At last, after some hearings, he was brought, on the twelfth of *August*, to the House of Lords, to receive his Censure: The effect whereof was, that he should be put from his Mayoralty, never bear Office in the City or Commonwealth, be incapable of all Honour or Dignity to be conferred on him by the King, and stand committed prisoner to the Tower, during the pleasure of both Houses.

Messages and complaints of the King and Parliament against each other.

During the time of these contentions between the Ordinance of the *Militia* and the Commission of *Array*, which is briefly touched by itself ; it will not be amisse to return to the King's proceedings in his own Person, by what degrees he came to encrease in strength, and what contestations happened betwixt Himself and the Parliament: wherein, that which concerned the Pen, shall be first briefly touched, and then his other actions. But those Declarations, Petitions, and Proclamations, which, upon all occasions, were then published, are too many and too long to be recited in a Story: in the Records, and printed Books of Ordinances, they may be read. I shall onely mention some of the chief, and excerpt the most material contents of them.

The Parliament, about the end of *July*, had petitioned the King to forbear all preparations of War, and remove his Garrisons. To which he gave Answer, and upbraided them with their preparations of War, for appointing the Earl of *Essex* to be their General, and the Earl of *Warwick* Admiral. In that Answer, he descants at large upon particulars, commanding his said Answer and their Petition to be read in all Churches. To which the Parliament reply, as they had done before, that they cannot lay-down their Arms, nor adjourn the Parliament to any other place, as he would have them, unlesse he leave-off those Warlike preparations, and comply with that Council, to which onely he ought to adhere by the Constitution of this Government. They likewise command the Petition, Answer, and Reply, to be read in all Churches.

But, things proceeding still higher, the King, being returned to the City of *York*, from thence sent-forth a Proclamation, to suppress (as he there styleth it) the present

present Rebellion under command of ROBERT, Earl of *Essex*; offering withal free pardon to him, and all such as shall within six days after the date thereof, being the ninth of *August*, lay down their Arms. In which Proclamation also he commanded the Marquesse *Hartford* to raise speedily what Forces he could, within all those Counties whereof he had made him Lieutenant-General in the Commission of *Array* (of which before was spoken) and to march against, destroy, or apprehend, the said Earl of *Essex*.

The Parliament, upon this Proclamation, make a Declaration, wherein they briefly recount all the King's former proceedings against them and the Kingdom: All which they attribute (after their usual manner) to his wicked Council; and promise still to make him great and happie, if he will return to his great Council.

But the next day after his former Proclamation, the King, continuing still at *York*, sent forth another, declaring that no Papist should serve him in his Army, and that his Souldiers should commit no rapine upon the people. And within two days after that, he published a Discourse, called *A Declaration to all his loving Subjects, concerning the proceedings of this present Parliament*. This Declaration was of a great length, containing fifty pages in a large *Quarto*. In which was comprised a kinde of History, touching all former passages betwixt himself and them, from the beginning of these divisions: which is to be read in the printed Book of Parliament-Ordinances. Toward the end of that Declaration, he protesteth a wonderful love to Parliaments, and to the peace and happinesse of the Kingdom: but he requires that some persons (as disturbers of the publike peace) may be delivered into the hands of Justice, to be tried by their Peers, naming the Lord of *Kymbolton*, and those five Members of the House of Commons whom before he came to surprise in that House, Master HOLLIS, Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, M. PYM, M. HAMBDEN, and M. STRODE; as likewise M. HENRY MARTIN, and Sir HENRY LUDLOW, two Members also of the House of Commons, for speaking some bold Speeches in that House. He also desires to have delivered-up to him Alderman PENINGTON, who succeeded in the Mayoralty to the fore-named Sir RICHARD GURNEY, and Captain VENN, one of the City-Captains: those two last he accuses of bringing tumults from the City, to terrifie the Parliament at *Westminster*. Another desire of the King's is, that Inditements of High Treason upon the Statute of the 23d yeer of King EDWARD the Third, may be drawn against the Earls of *Essex*, *Warwick*, and *Stamford*, the Lord BROOK, Sir JOHN HOTHAM, and Serjeant Major-General SKIPPON, an expert and religious Souldier, a man of high action in the succeeding War, whom the City had employed in exercising of their *Militia*; as likewise against all those who shall hereafter exercise the *Militia* by vertue of the Ordinance of Parliament.

The Pen was very quick upon all occasions: and the King, the next day after the publication of this long fore-mentioned Declaration, sent a Message to the Parliament, upbraiding both Houses with an Order which they had then made, for the borrowing of an hundred thousand pounds out of that money which the Adventurers had raised for reducing of *Ireland*, and subduing the Rebels there; affirming,

The King publishes a long Declaration against the proceedings of the Parliament, on the 10th of August, 1642.

The Parliament
charges the King with
actions tending to
detest the vigorous
measures taken by
the Parliament for
the suppression of
the rebellion of the
Papists in Ireland.

affirming, that, out of his Princely care and piety toward distressed *Ireland*, he cannot but take notice of it; commanding them immediately to retract that mischievous and unjust Order (for so he calls it) as they would answer the contrary to Almighty God, himself, and those that have trusted them: Wherein he expecteth their speedie Answer and Obedience; and the rather, that he may thereby be secured, that such part of the four hundred thousand pounds as is, or shall be, collected from his good Subjects of *England*, by vertue of the late Act of Parliament, whereby the same is granted, may not likewise (under false pretences) be diverted from the proper use to which it was intended, and misemployed to the disturbance of the Kingdom's peace, in a War against him.

The Lords and Commons in Parliament make Answer to this Message, expressing what caution there was in the very Order (which, upon that very occasion, was printed) for speedie repayment of that Sum, and disposing of it to the right use. But, first, they tell the King, that this very Message of his to them, is an high breach of the Privilege of Parliament: and, upon that occasion, they call to remembrance, and declare many particulars of their care for the relief of *Ireland*, and the King's hindering of it. Those particulars there expressed, are as followeth. They declare, that this bloodie Rebellion was first raised by the same Counsels that had before brought two Armies within the bowels of this Kingdom, and two Protestant Nations ready to welter in each other's blood, which were both defrayed a long time at the charge of the poor Commons of England, and quietly, at last, disbanded; by God's blessing upon the Parliament's endeavours. That, this designe failing, the same wicked Counsels which had caused that impious War, raised this barbarous Rebellion in *Ireland*; and recommended the suppressing thereof (for the better colour) to the Parliament's care: who, out of a fellow-feeling of the unspeakable miseries of their Protestant Brethren there (not suspecting this horrid Plot, now too apparent) did cheerfully undertake that great work, and do really intend and endeavour to settle the Protestant Religion and a permanent Peace in that Realm, to the glory of God, the honour and profit of his Majestie, and security of his three Kingdoms. But how they have been discouraged, retarded, and diverted, in and from this pious and glorious Work, by those traiterous Counsels about his Majestie, will appear by many particulars.

The Parliament charges the King with actions tending to defeat the vigorous measures taken by the Parliament for the suppression of the rebellion of the Papists in *Ireland*.

They there mention the sending-over at first of twenty thousand pounds by the Parliament, and that good way found-out to reduce *Ireland* by the Adventure of private men, without charging the Subject in general, which would probably have brought in a Million of money, had the King continued in, or neer, *London*, and not, by leaving his Parliament, and making War upon it, so intimidated and discouraged the Adventurers, and others who would have adventured, that that good Bill is rendered in a manner ineffectual.

They mention, that when, at the sole charge of the Adventurers, five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse were designed for the relief of *Munster*, under the command of the Lord WHARTON, and nothing was wanting but a Commission to enable that Lord for the Service, such was the power of wicked Counsel, that no Commission

Commission could be obtained from the King; by reason whereof, *Lymrick* was wholly lost, and the Province of *Munster* since in very great distresse.

That when well-affected persons, at their own charge, by way of Adventure, had prepared twelve Ships, and six Pinnaces, with a thousand Land-forces, for the service of *Ireland*, desiring nothing but a Commission from his Majestie; that Commission, after twice sending to *York* for it, and the Ships lying ready to set-Sail, three weeks together, at the charge of neer three hundred pounds a day, was likewise denied. And those Adventurers (rather than lose their Expedition) were constrained to go by vertue of an Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament. N. B.

That, though the Lords-Justices of *Ireland* earnestly desired to have two Pieces of Battering cannon sent-over, as necessary for that Service; yet such commands were given to the Officers of the Tower, that none of the King's Ordnance must be sent, to save his Kingdom. N. B.

That CHARLES FLOYD, Engineer and Quarter-Master-General of the Army in *Ireland*, and in actual employment there against the Rebels, was called-away from that important Service, by expresse command of the King. N. B.

That Captain GREEN, Controller of the Artillery, a man in Pay, and principally employed and trusted here by the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* for providing and ordering the Train of Artillery, which was to be sent to *Dublin*, and who had received great sums of money for that purpose, was commanded from that employment and trust, to serve the King in this unnatural War against his Parliament. And, when the Parliament had provided six hundred suits of Clothes for present relief of the poor Souldiers in *Ireland*, and sent them towards *Chester*, WILLIAM WHITAKER, that undertook the carriage of them, was assaulted by the King's souldiers lying about *Coventry*; who took-away the six hundred suits of Clothes, and the poor man's Waggon and Horses, though they were told that the Clothes were for the souldiers in *Ireland*, and though the poor Carrier was five times with the Earl of *Northampton*, to beg a release of his Waggon. N. B.

That three hundred suits of Clothes sent likewise by the Parliament for *Ireland*, with a Chirurgion's Chest of Medicaments, towards *Chester*, were taken all away by the King's Troopers, under command of one Captain MIDDLETON, together with the poor Carrier's Horses and Waggon, for the King's service. As likewise, that a great number of Draught-horses, prepared by the Parliament for the Artillery and Baggage of the Irish Army, and sent to *Chester* for that purpose, being there, attending a passage, are now required by the King for his present service in *England*; whose forces are so quartered about the Roads to *Ireland*, that no Provision can passe thither by Land with any safety.

That Captain KETTLEBY and Sir HENRY STRADLING, the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Ships appointed to lie upon the coast of *Ireland*, to annoy the Rebels, and to prevent the bringing of Ammunition and relief from forraign parts, are both called-away from that employment by the King's command: and by reason of their departure from the coast of *Munster*, to which they were designed,

the Rebels there have received Powder, Ammunition, and other relief from foreign parts.

By which particulars (say they) it may seem that those Rebels are countenanced there, upon designe to assist the enemies of the Parliament here: especially considering that those confident Rebels have presumed, very lately, to send a Petition to the King, intituling themselves his Majesties Catholike Subjects of *Ireland*, and complaining of the Puritan Parliament of *England*; and desiring, that since his Majestie comes not thither, according to their expectation, they may come into *England* to his Majestie.

The Parliament, therefore, finding what danger both Kingdoms are in, by the designes of cruel enemies, thought fit to provide for the safety of both, by preparing a competent Army for the defence of King and Kingdom. But in regard that the Plate, brought-in by so many well-affected men, could not be coined so suddenly as the service required; and well knowing that one hundred thousand pounds might, for a short time, be borrowed out of the Adventurers money for *Ireland*, without any prejudice to the affairs of that Kingdom, whose Subsistence depends upon the Welfare of this, and resolving to make a speedy repayment of that money, made this Order: which, that it may appear (say they) to all the world to be neither mischievous, illegal, nor unjust, (as the King calls it) the House of Commons thought fit to recite it *in hæc verba*; and, instead of retracting the Order, to repay that money with all possible speed.

The Order, July 30.

It is this day Ordered, by the Commons House of Parliament, That the Treasurers appointed to receive the Moneys come-in upon the Subscriptions for Ireland, do forthwith furnish, by way of Loan, unto the Committee of Lords and Commons for the defence of the Kingdom, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, for the supply of the publike necessity, for defence of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, upon the Publike Faith, to be repayed duely and carefully within so short a time, that it shall not be diverted from that purpose for which it was intended, or any way frustrate the Acts already made in the behalf of that adventure.

During the time of these Paper-conflicts, the King, in person, had often removed, and visited many places. To the Gentry of *Leicestershire* he made a Speech on the 20th of *July*, after his usual manner, with protestations of his great love to the people, and care of the Kingdom. And from thence removing Northward, on the fourth of *August* he made a Speech, after the same manner, to the

the Gentry of *Yorkshire*; from whence he returned back to *Nottingham*, and there set-up his Standard Royal. Very few people resorted to it. Nor had the King at this time a considerable strength to guard his Person, if any attempts had been made to have seized upon him. From *Nottingham*, on the 25th of *August*, the King sent a Message to the Parliament by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, and Sir JOHN CULPEPER, one of the Members of the House of Commons, who had deserted the Parliament, and went to the King at *York*; having not long before been made by him Chancellour of the Exchequer.

The King sets-up his Standard at Nottingham, August 5, 1642.

The King's Message to both Houses of Parliament from *Nottingham*, August 25th, 1642.

We have, with unspeakable grief of heart, long beheld the Distractions of this Our Kingdom. Our very Soul is full of Anguish, until We may finde some Remedy to prevent the Miseries which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a Civil War. And, though all Our endeavours tending to the composing of those unhappie Differences betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament (though pursued by Us with all Zeal and Sincerity) have been hitherto without that Successe we hoped-for; yet such is Our constant and earnest care to preserve the publike Peace, that We shall not be discouraged from using any Expedient, which, by the blessing of the God of mercy, may lay a firm foundation of Peace and Happinesse to all Our good Subjects. To this end observing that many Mistakes have arisen by the Messages, Petitions, and Answers betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament; which haply may be prevented by some other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more clearly understood, and more freely transacted: We have thought fit to propound to you, That some fit persons may be by you enabled to treat with the like number to be authorized by Us, in such a manner, and with such freedom of Debate, as may best tend to that happie Conclusion which all good men desire, The Peace of the Kingdom. Wherein, as we promise, in the word of a King, all safety and encouragement to such as shall be sent unto Us, if you shall chuse the place where We are for the Treaty, which we wholly leave to you, presuming the like care of the safety of those We shall employ, if you shall name another place: So We assure you and all Our good Subjects, that (to the best of Our understanding) nothing shall be therein wanting on Our part, which may advance the true Protestant Religion, ap-

pose Popery and Superstition, secure the Law of the Land (upon which is built, as well Our just Prerogative, as the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all just Power and Priviledges of Parliament, and render Us, and Our people, truly happie, by a true understanding betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament. Bring with you as firm resolutions to do your duty, and let all Our People joyn with Us in Our prayers to Almighty God for his blessing upon this Work.

If this Proposition shall be rejected by you, We have done Our duty so amply, that God will absolve Us from the guilt of any of that blood which must be spilt. And what opinion soever other men may have of Our Power, We assure you, nothing but Our Christian and pious care to prevent the effusion of blood, hath begot this motion; Our provision of Men, Arms, and Money, being such, as may secure Us from further Violence, till it please God to open the eyes of Our People.

The Answer of the Lords and Commons to the King's Message of the 25th of August, 1642.

May it please Your Majestie.

“ The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, having received Your
 “ Majestie's Message of the 25th of August, do with much grief resent the dange-
 “ rous and distracted state of this Kingdom, which we have by all means en-
 “ deavoured to prevent, both by our several Advices and Petitions to Your Majes-
 “ tie, which have been not onely without successe, but there hath followed that,
 “ which no evil Counsel in former times hath produced, or any age hath seen,
 “ Those several Proclamations and Declarations against both the Houses of Par-
 “ liament, whereby their Actions are declared Treasonable, and their Persons
 “ Traitors; and thereupon Your Majestie hath set-up Your Standard against
 “ them, whereby you have put the two Houses of Parliament, and in them this
 “ whole Kingdom, out of Your Protection: So that until Your Majestie shall
 “ recal those Proclamations and Declarations whereby the Earl of *Essex* and both
 “ Houses of Parliament, their adherents and assistants, and all such as have
 “ obeyed and executed their Commands and Directions, according to their duties,
 “ are declared Traitors, or otherwise Delinquents; and until the Standard, set-up
 “ in pursuance of the said Proclamations, be taken-down, Your Majestie hath
 “ put us into such a condition, that, whilst we so remain, we cannot by the Fun-
 “ damental priviledges of Parliament, the publike Trust reposed in us, or with
 “ the general good and safety of this Kingdom, give Your Majestie any other
 “ Answer to this Message.

Within

Within few days after, the King sent instructions under his Privy Signet to his Commissioners of *Array* for the several Counties of *England* and *Wales*; as to *Marquesse Hartford*, whom the King had made Lieutenant-General of all the Western Counties, as is before expressed; to the Earl of *Cumberland*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Yorkshire*; and the Lord *STRANGE*, Lieutenant for *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*: in which Instructions he commands them to pursue the Earl of *Essex*, whom he again calls Rebel and Traitor.

Immediately after, the King sent a Reply to that Answer of the Parliament to his last Message of the 25th of *August*; which being short, that the Reader may the more truly inform himself of the nature of this strange division, I shall wholly insert in the very words.

We will not repeat what means We have used to prevent the dangerous and distracted estate of the Kingdom, nor how those means have been interpreted, because, being desirous to avoid effusion of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former Bitternesse, that might make Our offer of a Treaty lesse readily accepted. We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare both Our Houses of Parliament Traitors, or set-up Our Standard against them; and much lesse to put them and this Kingdom out of Our protection: We utterly professe against it before God and the world. And further, to remove all possible Scruples which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by Us; We hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations against all persons as Traitors or otherwise for assisting Us, We shall, with all cheerfulness, upon the same day, recall our Proclamations and Declarations, and take-down Our Standard. In which Treaty, We shall be ready to grant any thing that shall be really for the good of Our subjects; conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of Ireland, and the dangerous condition of England, in as high a degree, as by these Our Offers We have declared Our Self to do: and assuring you, that Our chiefe desire in the world is to beget a good understanding and mutual confidence betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament.

To the King's most Excellent Majestie:

The humble Answer and Petition of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament to the King's last Message.

May it please Your Majestie:

“ If we, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, should repeat all the ways we have taken, the endeavours we have used, and the expressions we have
“ made

“ made unto Your Majestie, to prevent those distractions and dangers Your
 “ Majestie speaks of, we should too much enlarge this Reply. Therefore, as we
 “ Humbly, so shall we Onely, let Your Majestie know that we cannot recede from
 “ our former Answer, for the reasons therein expressed : for that Your Majestie
 “ hath not taken-down Your Standard, recalled Your Proclamations and Decla-
 “ rations whereby You have declared the Actions of both Houses of Parliament to
 “ be Treasonable, and their Persons Traitors : And You have published the same
 “ since Your Message the 25th of *August*, by Your late Instructions to Your
 “ Commissioners of *Array*. Which Standard being taken-down, and the Decla-
 “ rations, Proclamations, and Instructions, recalled ; if Your Majestie shall then,
 “ upon this our humble Petition, leaving your Forces, return unto Your Par-
 “ liament, and receive their faithful advice, Your Majestie shall finde such expres-
 “ sions of our fidelities and duties, as shall assure You that Your Safety, Honour,
 “ and Greatnesse, can onely be found in the affections of Your People, and the
 “ sincere Counsels of Your Parliament, whose constant and undiscouraged endea-
 “ vours and consultations have passed thorough difficulties unheard-of, onely to
 “ secure Your Kingdoms from the violent mischiefs and dangers now ready to fall
 “ upon them ; who deserve better of Your Majestie, and can never allow them-
 “ selves (representing likewise Your whole Kingdom) to be balanced with those
 “ persons whose desperate dispositions and counsels prevail still so to interrupt all
 “ our endeavours for the relieving of bleeding *Ireland*, as we may fear our labours
 “ and vast expences will be fruitlesse to that distressed Kingdom. As Your Pre-
 “ sence is thus humbly desired by us ; so it is in our hopes that Your Majestie
 “ will in Your Reason believe, There is no other way than this, to make Your
 “ Majestie’s Self happie, and Your Kingdoms safe.”

The Parliament, immediately after, published a Declaration, that the Arms
 which they were enforced to take-up for the preservation of the Kingdom, Laws
 and Liberties, could not be laid-down, until the King should withdraw his Protec-
 tion from such persons as had been voted Delinquents by both Houses, and leave
 them to the Justice of Parliament.

The King, within few days after, made another Reply to the last Answer of the
 Parliament. The substance of it was, that he could neither do nor offer any more
 than he had already : and that he should think himself clear and innocent
 from any blood that might be spilt in this Quarrel ; praying God so to deal
 with him and his posterity, as he desired to preserve Religion, Law, and
 Liberty of the Subjects, and Priviledges of Parliament. The Parliament returned
 Answer, that, while the King thinks himself bound in Honour to protect such
 Delinquents, in whose preservation the Kingdom cannot be safe, nor the Rights
 of Parliament at all maintained, but must needs fall into utter contempt ; they
 must needs think he hath not done what he can or ought to do. They tell him,
 it is impossible that any reasonable man should believe him to be so tender of
 bleeding *Ireland*, when at the same time divers of the Irish Traitors, the known
 favourers of them, and agents for them, are admitted into his Presence with
 grace and favour, and some of them employed in his service.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

*Prince RUPERT and Prince MAURICE arrive in England.
The Earle of ESSEX, taking leave of the Parliament,
goeth to his Command. The King increaseth in
strength at Shrewsbury. A skirmish at Worcester.
The great Battell of Keynton is fought.*

ABOUT the beginning of this *September*, Prince RUPERT, second Sonne to FREDERICK Prince Elector-Palatine of the *Rhine*, (who had long beene detained Prisoner of Warre by the Emperour, and was newly-released,) arrived in *England*, to offer his Service to the King, his Uncle, in those Warres, which were now visibly begun in this unhappy Kingdome: together with him came his younger Brother Prince MAURICE, and were an addition rather of Gallantry than of strength to the King's side, they being both young and unexperienced Souldiers. Neither, indeed, though they were neere in birth to the Crowne of *England*, were they neere enough to adde

The Count Palatine, Charles, Elector of Germany, retires into Holland; in July, 1642.

adde any security to the King, by purchasing the People's hatred to themselves; though that were imagined, and talked-of by many, as the cause why they were sent-for. Their elder Brother, CHARLES, Prince Elector, might have served more fitly to play that part: But he, having long remained in the Court of *England*, had lately left the King, not above two Moneths before the arrival of his Brothers: The reasons why he went-away were partly expressed by himselfe afterward in a Message, which he sent out of *Holland* to the Houses of Parliament, wherein he professed sorrow for these distractions, and protested that, whilst he was in the Court of *England*, he had by all means endeavoured to bring the King into a good opinion of his Parliament; acknowledging that his owne interest, and that of the Protestant Religion in *Germany*, did more depend upon the happinesse of the English Parliament, than upon any thing else under God. True it is, that this Prince left not the King, until he saw that the rent betweene him and his Parliament was too great to close; and, having before been exposed by the King to some probability of envy, (as when he attended his Majestiy to the House of Commons for the surprizal of the five Members; and was with him afterwards, when some other things displeasing to the people had been done;) he might, in likelihood, (being of that opinion that he was of concerning this cause,) thinke it the wisest way to take a faire leave, in time, of the King.

These two young Princes, after their arrival in *England*, were soone put into employment and Command under the King, their Uncle; in which they shewed themselves very forward and active, as will appeare afterward: and, if they were more hot and furious than the tender beginnings of a Civil Warre would seem to require, it may be imputed to the fervour of their youth, and the great desire which they had to ingratiate themselves with the King; upon whom, as being no more than Souldiers of fortune, their hopes of advancement wholly depended.

Prince Rupert commands a body of the King's troops against the Parliament, in September, 1642.

Prince RUPERT, the elder brother, and the more furious of the two, within a fortnight after his arrival, commanded a small party of those Forces which the King had at that time gathered together, which were not of so great a body as to be termed an Army: with which he marched into divers Counties, to roll himselfe, like a snow-ball, into a larger bulke, by the Accession of Forces in every place. Through divers parts of *Warwickshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Worcestershire*, and *Cheshire*, did this young Prince fly with those Troops which he had, not inviting the people so much by faire demeanour (for such was the report to the Houses of Parliament,) as compelling them by extreme rigour, to follow that side which he had taken. Many Townes and Villages he plundered, that is to say robb'd (for at that time, first, was the word *plunder* used in *England*, being born in *Germany*, when that stately Country was so miserably wasted and pilaged by forraigne Armies;) and committed other outrages upon those who stood affected to the Parliament, executing some, and hanging-up servants at their Masters doores, for not discovering of their Masters. Upon which newes, the Houses of Parliament fell into a serious debate, and agreed that a Charge of High Treason should be drawne-up against him, for endeavouring the destruction of this State,

State, which was voted a great breach of the Kingdom's Lawes, and breach of the priviledge of that great Council, representing the whole state of it.

Let it not seeme amisse in this place to insert a passage, happening at the same time, which cannot be omitted by reason of the eminence of that person whom it concernes, in the succeeding Warres.

Colonel GORING, who was before spoken-of as having undertaken to keepe the Towne of *Portsmouth* against the Parliament, being now no longer able to hold it out, was permitted by Captain MERRICK, not without allowance from the Earl of *Warwick*, to leave the place, and to be conveyed to the *Brill* in *Holland* according to his owne desire. This the Parliament were contented with, because the Captaine was necessitated to agree to it, for preservation of that Towne, and many persons therein well-affected to the Parliament; for GORING had threatened to destroy the Towne with wilde-fire, if he might not preserve his owne life by a peaceable surrender.

Whilest Prince RUPERT was thus active with a flying Party, the King himselfe was moving with those Forces which he had, but in a gentler and calmer way; for the reverence which the people bare to his Person, made him finde lesse resistance; as windes lose their fury when they meet no opposition; but howsoever, the King desired to go in such a way, as to be taken for a Father of his Country, and a Prince injur'd by the Parliament; professions of love, perswasions, and Protestations of his affection to the people, were the chiefe instruments which he used to raise himselfe a strength, and complaints against the proceedings and actions of the Parliament; as when he was marching toward *Shrewsbury*, where he intended to make his chiefe Rendezvouze, being a place convenient to receive and entertaine such Forces as should come to him out of *Wales*: Which place (as will appeare afterward) failed not his expectation, though it were more than the Parliament could suspect. As he was marching thither with a small Army, he made a Speech betweene *Stafford* and *Wellington*, on the 19th of *September*, and caused his Protestation to be then also read in the head of his Army; where in, among other things, he tells them (for their comfort and hope to prevaile) that they should meet no Enemies but Traytors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists, who would destroy both Church and Common-wealth. And in this Protestation, with deepe vowes, and imprecations upon himselfe and his posterity, he declares his whole care and intentions to be for the maintenance of the Protestant Religion, the Lawes and property of the Subject, together with the Priviledge of Parliament, as he was accustomed to do in his former Speeches.

The King marches with an army toward Shrewsbury, in September, 1642.

But the King, not many daies before, had taken a more harsh and co-ercive way; for marching thorow *Derbyshire*, *Leicestershire*, and *Nottinghamshire*, he commanded the Trayned-Bands of those Counties to attend and guard his Person; and, when they were met, disarmed the greatest part of them, taking as many Armes as served for 2000 men, besides good summes of Money, which, not without some constraint, he borrowed from them.

But, to leave the King's proceedings for a while, it is time to returne to the Lord-General for the Parliament, and the Army raised under his conduct; which

The Earl of Essex leaves the City of London, to take the command of the Parliament army, Sept. 9, 1642.

at that time, when Prince RUPERT began to march, was growne to a considerable body, consisting of about 14 thousand Horse and Foot; their general Rendezvouze was at *Northampton*, where many of the chiefe Commanders, as the Lord BROOKE, Lord ROBERTS, Colonel HAMDEN, and others, stayed with them, expecting the presence of his Excellence, who on the ninth of *September*, taking his leave of the Parliament and City of *London*, bent his journey toward *Northampton*, and was waited-on by the Trayned-Bands, and a great number of armed Gentlemen, from *Essex-House* to the end of the City with great solemnity. But the love and wishes of the people that did attend him, were farre greater than any outward signification could expresse: To whom he seemed at that time, though going to a Civil Warre, as much an Englishman, and as true a Patriot, as if he had gone against a forraigne Enemy. Great was the love and honour which the people in general bore to his Person, in regard of his owne vertue, and honourable demeanour; and much increased by the Memory of his noble Father, the highest example that ever I yet read, of a Favourite both to Prince and people; of whom that was most true, which VELLELIUS PATERCULUS speaks with flattery and falsehood of SEJANUS, *In quo cum judicio Principis certabant studia populi*, the people's love strived to match the Prince's judgement. That Cause, wherein the Earle of ESSEX had engaged himselfe, seemed to them religious enough to require their prayers for the successe of it: For the Parliament, though they raised an Army, expressed much humility and reverence to the King's Person; for not many daies after the departure of the Lord-General, by consent of both Houses, a Petition to the King was drawne-up, to be carried by Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, a Member of the House of Commons, often spoken-of before, and at this time a Colonel in the Lord-General's Army. This Petition he carried to *Northampton* to the General, to be by him presented (according to the Parliament's desire) to His Majesty, in a safe and honourable way: In which Petition nothing at all (according to their former Declarations) is charged upon the King himselfe, but only upon his wicked Council; and the former misgovernments briefly mentioned; and that this wicked Council have raised an horrid Rebellion and Massacre in *Ireland*; and ever since, by opposition against the Parliament, hindered the reliefe of that Kingdom, and at last drawne his Majesty to make a War upon his Parliament, leading an Army in Person to the destruction of his people, depriving his good Subjects of his Majestie's protection, and protecting those Traytors against the Justice and Authority of Parliament.

A Petition of the Parliament to be presented to the King, to prevent a Civil War.

We, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, have (for these are the Words of the Petition) for the just and necessary defence of the Protestant Religion, of your Majestie's Person, Crowne, and Dignity, and of the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, and the Priviledges and power of Parliaments, taken-up Armes, and have appointed and authorized ROBERT Earle of ESSEX, to be Captaine-General of all the Forces by us raised, to conduct the

the same against those Rebels and Traytors, to subdue and bring them to condigne punishment: And we do most humbly beseech your Majesty, to withdraw your Royal Presence and Countenance from these wicked persons; and, if they shall stand-out in defence of their rebellious and unlawful attempts, that your Majesty will leave them to be suppress by that Power which we have sent against them; And that your Majesty will not mix your owne dangers with theirs, but in peace and safety, without your Forces, forth-with returne to your Parliament, and by their faithful advice compose the present distempers and confusions abounding in both your Kingdomes, and provide for the security and honour of your selfe and your Royal Posterity, and the prosperous estate of all your Subjects. Wherein if your Majesty please to yeeld to our most humble and earnest desires; We do, in the presence of Almighty God, professe, That we will receive your Majesty with all Honour, yeeld you all due obedience and subjection, and faithfully endeavour to secure your Person and Estate from all dangers; and to the uttermost of our Power, to procure and establish to your selfe, and to your People, all the blessings of a glorious and happy Reigne.

According to this Petition were those Directions from the Parliament to the Lord-General sent at the same time; wherein the Lord-General is required by the Houses, to use his utmost endeavour, by Battel or otherwise, to rescue the King's Person, the Persons of the Prince, and the Duke of Yorke, out of the hands of those desperate persons now about them. Another Direction was, That if his Majesty, upon this humble Petition, should be pleased to withdraw himselfe from the persons now about him, and returne to the Parliament, that then the Lord-General should disband, and should serve and defend his Majesty with a sufficient strength in his return. Another Direction was, That his Excellency should proclaime pardon to all those who were at that time seduced against their Parliament and Country, if within ten daies after that Proclamation they would returne to their duty, doing no hostile act within the time limited: Provided that this should not extend to admit any man into either House of Parliament, who stands suspended, without giving satisfaction to that House whereof he was a Member; and excepting all persons impeached for Delinquency by either House, and those persons who have been eminent Actors in these Treasons, and therefore impeached in Parliament of High Treason; such as were at that time declared, and there named; the Earles of Bristol, Cumberland, Newcastle, and Rivers, Secretary NICHOLAS, Master ENDYMION PORTER, Master EDWARD HIDE, the Duke of Richmond, the Earle of Carnarvan, Viscounte Newarke, and Viscount Fawkland; These were the persons at that time voted-against, and declared Traytors, though afterwards others were added to the number of them, and many of these left-out, as occasions altered.

Such Directions, and others for the advantage of the Army, and behoofe of the Countries, thorow which he was to march, were given by the Parliament to his Excellency ; but above all things to reſtraine carefully all impieties, prophannesse, and disorders in his Army.

The Lord-General Essex with his Army arrives at Northampton.

The General arriving at *Northampton*, was there possessed of a great and gallant Army, well furnished at all points, consisting of about twenty thousand, with those that within few daies were to come thither: An Army too great to finde resistance at that time from any Forces a-foot in *England*; for the King's side had then small strength: What they had, consisted of Horse, who in small Parties roved up and downe, to make Provision, and force Contribution in several places. Prince RUPERT especially, like a perpetual motion, with those Horse which he commanded, was in a short time heard-of at many places of great distance. The care therefore which his Excellency especially tooke, was so to divide his great Army, as to make the several parts of it useful, both to annoy the straggling Troops of the Enemy, and protect those Counties that stood affected to the Parliament, as also to possesse himselfe, either in his owne Person, or by his Lieutenants, of such Towns as he thought might be of best import, if this sad War should happen to continue.

From *Northampton* he marched to *Coventry*, to make that considerable City a Garrison for the Parliament; and from thence to *Warwick*; and having fortified that Towne, marched-away towards *Worcester*, upon intelligence that the King himselfe intended to come thither with his Forces. For his desire was to finde-out the King; and the Parliament, to whom he imparted his designe by Letter, approved well of his advance towards *Worcester*.

The City of *Worcester*, as well as the whole County, had beene in great distractions, by reason not only of the dissenting affections of the Inhabitants, but the frequent invitations from both sides; if we may call that an invitation, which is made by armed force. Sir JOHN BYRON had first entred *Worcester* for the King's side, whom Master FIENNES, Sonne to the Lord SAY, had opposed for the Parliament; and afterward Prince RUPERT with five hundred Horse, not farre from the City, was encountred by Master FIENNES, who commanded another Body about that number; the skirmish was but small, and not above twelve men slaine, as the report was made at *London*. But before the Lord-General could arrive at *Worcester*, (who was marching thither from *Warwick*, as was before expressed,) there happened a fight there, not to be omitted, in regard of the persons that were there slaine or wounded, though the number of men in general that fell were small. Prince RUPERT was then at *Worcester* with twelve Troops of Horse, when about that City divers of the Parliament's Forces were, though not joyned in one Body, but dispersed: The Prince marched out of the City into a greene Meadow, and there set his men in Battel-Array, to encounter whom he could first light-upon. Within halfe a mile of that Field were the Parliament Troops, Colonel SANDYS with his Regiment of Horse, Captaine HALES, and Captain WINGATE, who made toward the Prince; but their passage was very disadvantageous, as being thorow

A Skirmish at Worcester.

thorow a narrow Lane, where onely foure of a breast could march: Colonel SANDYS, whose fault was too much courage, charging with his owne Regiment thorow that Lane, too soone, before the rest of the Parliament-Forces could come-up (for, besides the forenamed Captains, HALES and WINGATE, Captaine FIENNES, and Captaine AUSTIN were not farre off, and were marching apace to their assistance) made, notwithstanding, some slaughter of the Prince's men, and maintained the Fight until the mentioned Forces approached the place; but then the Prince, (the two sides growing into some equality of number,) fearing, perchance, to be too long engaged in a Fight, until the Lord-General's Army might approach, some of the fore-runners of it not being farre off, retreated-back into the City of *Worcester*, thorow which he marched-away with as much speed as he could, the Parliament-Forces following him thorow the Towne, and so over a Bridge, about which some of the Parliament Dragoneers were placed, who cut-off twenty of the Prince's Troopers, and tooke thirty Prisoners. There were found dead at the place of their first encounter 13 men. There were slaine of the Parliament-side of note, Colonel SANDYS's Cornet, who first of all fell, and Sergeant-Major DOUGLAS; and Colonel SANDYS himselfe was desperately wounded, of which wounds he died about a Moneth after. It was reported that Colonel WILMOT, (of whom we have spoken before, and who was afterward an eminent Champion on the King's side,) was, in this conflict, runne thorow the body by Colonel SANDYS.

His Excellency, immediately after this fight, came to *Worcester* with his Army, where he resolved to quarter a while, as a place convenient to send-out Parties upon all occasions, and watch the motion of the King's Forces. This discourse shall here leave him, and relate the passages of the other Armies.

The Lord-General Essex with his Army comes to Worcester.

Prince RUPERT, having left *Worcester*, marched with his Troops to *Ludlow*, twenty miles distant thence; and the King with a small Body of Horse, passed into *Wales*, and having made a Speech full of Protestations, to the Inhabitants of *Denbigh* and *Flintshire*, and gained some Parties there, the next day he marched to *Shrewsbury*, where he intended to quarter for a time, as a fit Rendezvouze for those Forces expected from *Wales*, and other neere adjacent parts. To *Shrewsbury* the King caused a Mint to be brought, and there coyned all the Plate which he then had, or was then and soone after presented to him; for many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, about that time had furnished the King, not onely with Horses and Armes, but Money and Plate, as the Citizens of *London*, and other Gentlemen had done to the Parliament, upon their Publike Faith, as is before expressed. It is a wonderful thing, almost beyond what himselfe could hope, or the Parliament suspect, how much and how suddenly the King grew in strength, in that little time that he quartered at *Shrewsbury*; The King, within few daies after his coming thither, had, in publike, to the Gentry, Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of that County, made an Oration full of perswasive Art, and such winning expressions, as fitted the purpose he had in hand, such as might render him to the thoughts of those people, an injur'd Prince, and move compassionate affections

The King with his army comes to Shrewsbury, Sept. 23, 1642.

affections toward him. Which Speech of his, as it was reported and printed in London, I shall here insert.

His Speech to his Army.

Gentlemen :

It is some benefit to me, from the insolencies and misfortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me to so good a part of my Kingdome, and to so faithful a part of my People: I hope neither you nor I shall repent my coming hitber; I will do my part that you may not; and of you I was confident before I came. The residence of an Army is not usually pleasant to any place; and mine may carry more feare with it, since it may be thought (being robb'd and spoiled of all mine owne, and such terrour used to fright and keep all men from supplying of me) I must onely live upon the aid and reliefe of my people. But be not afraid; I would to God my poore Subjects suffered no more by the insolence and violence of that Army raised against me (though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty) than you shall do by mine; and yet I feare I cannot prevent all disorders; I will do my best: And this I promise you, No man shall be a looser by me, if I can help it.

I have sent hitber for a Mint; I will melt-downe all my owne Plate, and expose all my Land to sale or morgage, that, if it be possible, I may bring the least pressure upon you: In the mean time, I have summoned you hitber to do that for me and yourselves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other men do against us. Do not suffer so good a Cause to be lost, for want of supplying me with that, which will be taken from you by those who pursue me with this violence. And, whilst these ill men sacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmost industry to destroy the Common-wealth, be you no lesse liberal to preserve it. Assure yourselves, if it please God to blesse me with successe, I shall remember the assistance that every particular man here gives me, to his advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiously soever the minds of men are now possessed) be honour and comfort to you, that, with some charge and trouble to yourselves, you did your part to support your King, and preserve the Kingdome.

The King's army is much increased at Shrewsbury.

But with such skill had the King managed his affaires there, and so much had fortune crowned his endeavours, that before the middle of October, which was about three weekes after his first coming to Shrewsbury, with an inconsiderable Body of an Army, he was growne to a great strength, consisting of about six thousand

thousand Foot, three thousand brave Horse, and almost two thousand Dragoneers ; And, purposing about that time to remove from thence, he issued out Warrants to the Inhabitants of *Shrewsbury*, and other adjacent Townes and Villages, to send Horses and Carts for his removal.

The King marched along within the view of *Coventry*, but not intending to lose any time there in sitting-downe before it, unlesse the Towne had been freely surrendered to him : But that was denied, though in a very humble Message, by the Governour of it. Marching-on, he came and lay at *Southam*, when the Lord-General *Essex* was not many miles distant from him. So much was the King now growne in strength, that he was able, at so greata distance, to strike some terrour into the City of *London* itselfe, and provoke their sedulous endeavour for a defence against his feared approach, though the Lord-General *Essex* with as great an Army, were then abroad to attend his Marches. The Parliament itselfe tooke the businesse into their strict care : For both Houses conceiving that the City was in imminent danger of the King's Forces, ordered, That the Trayned-Bands thereof should be speedily raised for a Guard ; That such Fortifications as could suddenly be made, should not be wanting ; That a Committee should be appointed to consider of the present setting up Courts of Guard, and raising Works, for planting of Ordnance in special places about the City and Suburbs. According to which Order many hundreds of men fell presently to worke, in digging of Trenches, and other Bulwarks. It was Ordered likewise, That the Trayned-Bands of *London*, *Middlesex*, and *Surrey*, should be put into a readinesse ; And that the close Committee, by help of the Lord-Mayor, should, with all diligence, search-out and secure the persons of all the ill-affected Citizens, or the chiefe of them, that were suspected to be most able, or active, to raise a Party against the Parliament.

Preparations are made by Order of Parliament for the defence of London against the King's army, in October, 1642.

Twelve Companies of *London* were, by Order of Parliament, sent to *Windsor*, to possesse and secure that Castle ; and many Seamen were raised to guard the passages of the River *Thames*.

The Parliament about that time, considering how much these Civil distractions increased over the whole Kingdome, passed a Vote, That it was and should be lawful for all Counties in *England*, to enter into an Association, for mutual defence of each other, of their Religion, Lawes, and Liberties. Whereupon, within a short time after, *Buckingham*, *Hartford*, and *Nottinghamshire*, began to associate after that manner, raised Forces for the Parliament, and advanced both Plate and Money upon their Propositions.

The Parliament authorizes different Counties to associate together for their mutual defence.

The danger that seemed to threaten *London* at that time, though distant in place, yet in reason was neer. For the King's Army was judged to be neerer to it than the Lord-General's was ; and it was probable enough, that his desires would rather lead him to attempt the City than to engage against the Army ; and it was thought and spoken by some, that *London* was a place where he had many friends, who, upon the approach of such an Army, would appeare for him, and, to facilitate his atchievements, would fill the City with intestine tumults and seditions : — That *London* was the onely place where the Parliament was to be totally suppressed,

sed, and his Army enriched to the height of their desires. But others were of opinion, that such an attempt, as it was preposterous, would prove frustrate, and that the City could not be gained, unlesse the Army were first subdued. For, besides the consideration, that the supposed Party for the King in *London*, were not, in probability, of power enough to accomplish his ends, it might be thought that they were not so desperately inclined to him, as to throw themselves and estates into such hazard, as must be undergone in the confused rage of a licentious Army. But the maine reason against it was, That the Lord-General *Essex*, with an Army as strong as the King's, would follow his March neere at hand, and, by the help of those Forces which the City of *London* would poure-forth upon him, utterly ruine his inclosed Army. But, howsoever the counsels were, it pleased God that it was brought to a Battel, to which probably the King might be the more invited by that advantage of the absence of a great part of the Parliament's Army.

The Battle of Edgehill, or Keynton, October 23, 1642.

This famous Battel, called by some the Battel of *Edgehill*, by others the Battel of *Keynton* (that *Keynton* is a little Towne in *Warwickshire*, almost in the mid-way betweene *Stratford upon Avon* and *Banbury*) was fought on a Sunday, being the 23d day of *October*. The King on Saturday the 22d of *October*, came within six miles of *Keynton*, and that night at *Cropredy* and *Edgecot* lodged his great Army, consisting of about 14,000 Foot, and about 4000 Horse and Dragoneers; a farre greater number than the Lord-General *Essex* had together at that time (though his whole Army consisted of more,) for that opportunity the King tooke of the absence of many Regiments of the Parliament. The Lord-General *Essex* on that Saturday night quartered at *Keynton* with his Army, consisting then but of 12 Regiments of Foot, and about 40 Troops of Horse, little, in all, exceeding the number of 10,000 men. The reason why his Forces at that time were no more in number, was, (besides that, by reason of the suddenesse of his march, and diligence to follow the King's Army, he had left behinde two Regiments of his Foot, one under the Command of Colonel *HAMDEN*, the other of Colonel *GRANTHAM*, together with 11 Troops of Horse, behinde but one daies March, and left to bring-on the Artillery, which was seven Peeces of Canon, with great store of Ammunition, and which came not to *Keynton* till the battel was quite ended;) the Lord-General also had before left for preservation of the Countries thereabout (and whom on such a sudden he could not call together to his Assistance) one Regiment of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, under the command of the Earle of *Stamford* at *Hereford*, that the power of *Wales* might not fall into *Glocestershire*; another Regiment was left at *Worcester*, another at *Coventry*, for the safety of that Towne, and one Regiment occasionally lodged then in *Banbury*.

In *Keynton* the Lord-General intended to rest Sunday, to expect the residue of his Forces and Artillery: but in the morning the Enemy was discovered not far off; which made him give present order for drawing that Army which he had there, into the field. The King's Forces had gotten the advantage of a very high and steepe ascent, called *Edgehill*, from whence they were discovered that morning; not farre from the foot of that hill, was a broad Champion, called, *The vale of the red Horse*, a name suitable to the colour which that day was to bestow upon

upon it; for there happened the greatest part of the encounter. Into that field the Lord-General was forced presently to march, making a stand about halfe a mile distant from the foot of *Edgehill*, where he drew his Army into *Battalia*, and saw the King's Forces descending the Hill, ready for their encounter; that Army at the first having two advantages, of the hill, and of the winde. It was full of skilfull Commanders, and well-ordered; their greatest Body of Horse was on the right wing; on the left were some Horse and Dragooneers.

The Parliament-Army was drawne-up and put into *Battalia* upon a little rising ground in the forenamed Vale, the Foot being, many of them, a good space behind the Horse, when the Charge began. Three Regiments of Horse were on the right wing; the Lord-General's owne Regiment, commanded by Sir PHILIP STAPLETON; Sir WILLIAM BALFORE's Regiment, who was Lieutenant-General of the Horse; and the Lord FIELDING's Regiment, which stood behinde the other two, in the way of a Reserve; Sir JOHN MELDRUM's Brigado had the Van; Colonel ESSEX was in the middle; the Lord-General's Regiment, the Lord BROOKE, and Colonel HOLLIS, were in the Reare; in the left wing were about 20 Troops of Horse, commanded by Sir JAMES RAMSEY, their Commissary-General. In this posture they stood, when the other Army advanced toward them, the strength of their Horse being (as aforesaid) on their right wing, opposite to the left wing of the Parliament-Army.

The Cannon on both sides with a loud thunder began the Fight; in which the successe was not equal, the Parliament's Cannon doing great execution upon their Enemies, but theirs very little.

The Earle of *Lindsey*, General for the King, with a Pike in his hand, led-on the maine Body of that Army, in which was the King's owne Regiment, encountered by the Lord-General *Essex*, who exposed himselfe to all the danger that a Battell could make; first, leading-on his Troope, then his owne Regiment of Foot, and breathing courage into them, till, being dissuaded by divers from engaging himselfe too farre, he returned to the rest of the Army, to draw them on. The chiefe Regiments having begun the Battell, Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, with a brave Troop of Gentlemen (which were the General's Life-Guard, and commanded by him) charged the King's Regiment on their right flanke within their Pikes, and came-off without any great hurt, though those Pikemen stoutly defended themselves, and the Musqueteers, being good firemen, played fiercely upon them. The Battle was hot at that place, and so many of the King's side slaine, that the Parliament-Army began to be victorious there; they tooke the Standard-Royal, the bearer thereof, Sir EDMUND VARNEY, being slaine; and the General, the Earle of *Lindsey*, sorely wounded, was taken Prisoner. But the same fortune was not in every part; for the King's right wing, led by Prince RUPERT, charged fiercely upon the left wing of the other (consisting mostly of Horse) and prevailed altogether: for the Parliament-Troops ranne, almost all, away in that Wing; and many of their Foot-Companies, dismayed with their flight, fled all away, before they

Sir Faithful Fortescue
deserts to the King
with a troop of Horse.

Sir William Balfore
defeats two of the
King's Regiments of
Foot.

they had stood one Charge; Colonel ESSEX, being utterly forsaken by that whole Brigade which he commanded, went himself into the Van, where he performed excellent service, both by direction and execution, till at the last he was shot in the thigh, of which he shortly after died. Some part of their disheartning was caused by the revolt of their owne side; for Sir FAITHFUL FORTESCUE, at the beginning of the Fight, instead of charging the Enemy, discharged his Pistoll to the ground, and with his Troope, wheeling-about, ranne to the King's Army, to whom he had before given notice thereof by his Cornet. The Parliament-Army would have undoubtedly been ruined that day, and an absolute Victory gained on the King's side, if Prince RUPERT and his pursuing Troops had been more temperate in plundering so untimely as they did, and had wheeled-about to assist their distressed friends in other parts of the Army; for Prince RUPERT followed the chase to *Keynton-Towne*, where the Carriages of the Army were; which they presently pillaged, using great cruelty, (as was afterward related,) to the unarmed Waggoners and labouring-men. A great number of the flying Parliament-Souldiers were slaine in that Chase, which was continued for two miles beyond *Keynton*, and farther, till the Pursuers were forced to retire, having met-with Colonel HAMBDEN, who was marching to join the Lord-General with the other Brigado of the Army, that brought-on the Artillery and Ammunition before spoken-of. Colonel HAMBDEN discharged five pieces of Cannon against them; some were slaine, and the rest, ceasing the pursuit, retired hastily to the field, where they found all their Infantry, excepting two Regiments, quite defeated. For in the meane time, Sir WILLIAM BALFORE, Lieutenant-General of the Horse, with a Regiment of Horse, charged a Regiment of the King's Foot, before any Foot, of his owne side, could come-up to him, and, breaking most bravely into it, had cut most of them off; and afterward, by the assistance of some Foot, who were come-up to him, he defeated another Regiment, and so got-up to the greatest part of the King's Ordnance, taking some of them, cutting-off the Geeres of the Horses that drew them, and killing the Gunners, but was inforced to leave them without any Guard, by reason that he laboured most to make good the day against several Regiments of the King's Foot, who still fought with much resolution, especially that which was of the King's Guard, where his Standard was; by which Sir WILLIAM BALFORE's Regiment rode, when they came-back from taking the Ordnance, and were by them mistaken for their owne side. Their passing without any Hostility, was the cause, that, immediately afterward, Sir WILLIAM riding-up toward the Lord-General ESSEX's Regiment of Horse, they gave fire upon Sir WILLIAM BALFORE's men, supposing them to be Enemies; but, soone discovering each other, they joyned Companies, and were led-up with halfe the Lord-General's Regiment, by his Excellency himselfe, against the King's maine strength, where a terrible and bloody encounter happened: At the same time Colonel BALLARD, who led a brigado there of the Lord-General's Regiment and the Lord BROOKS's, forced a stand of the King's Pikes, and broke through two of his Regiments.

In

In this great conflict the Standard-Royal (as aforesaid) was taken, and Sir EDMUND VARNEY slaine, and the Earle of *Lindsey*, with his Sonne, were taken Prisoners, together with Colonel VAVASOR, Lieutenant Colonel of that Regiment; Colonel MUNROE also was there slaine.

The Standard thus taken, and put into the Lord-General's hand, was by him delivered to his Secretary, Master CHAMBERS; but the Secretary, after he had carried it some time in his hand, suffered it to be taken from him by an unknowne person, and so it was privately conveyed-away. There also was great service performed by the Lord GRAY, Sonne to the Earle of *Stamford*, and Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, and a considerable help given to the turning of the day, by defeating a Regiment of the King's, called the Blew Regiment.

By this time all the King's Foot, excepting two Regiments, were dispersed, and the Parliamentarians had gotten the advantage of the winde, and that ground which their Enemies had fought-upon. Those two Regiments of the King's, retiring themselves, and finding their Ordnance behind them without any guard, took stand there, and made use of their Cannons, discharging many shot against their Enemies. But at that time the Parliament-Foot began to want powder; otherwise (as was observed by a Commander in that Army) they had charged them both with Horse and Foot; which in all probability would have utterly ruined the King's Infantry, consisting in a manner but of two Regiments.

Thus the Parliament-Army, partly for want of Ammunition, and partly being tired with so long a fight (for the whole brunt of the Battell had been susteyned by two Regiments of their Horse, and foure or five of their Foot) made no great haste to charge any more.

The King's Horse, who had been long pillaging about *Keynton*, by this time had leisure to come-about on both hands, and joyne themselves to their Foot; but, as they came-back on the left hand of their Enemies, Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, with his Horse, gave them a terrible Charge, which they were not long able to endure, but, finding a gap in an hedge, got from him upon the Spurre as fast as they could, to the rest of their broken Troops, and so at last joyned with their Foot that stood by the Ordnance. And now on both sides the Horse were gathered to their own Foot, and so stood together both Horse and Foot, one against another, till it was night.

The Parliament-Army, being wholly possessed of the ground which their Enemies had chosen to fight-upon, stood upon it all night, and in the morning returned to a warmer place neere *Keynton*, where they had quartered the night before; for they were much pinched with cold, and the whole Army in extreme want of Victuals.

The King's Army had withdrawne to the top of the hill, for their more security, where they made great fires all the night long.

About nine of the clock the next morning the Parliament-Army drew-out againe into Battalia, and so stood about three houres, until the other Army was quite gone

The Parliament-Army remains master of the field of battel.

gone from the hill, and then they withdrew themselves into their Quarter towards *Keynton*, and to their other Brigado, Artillery, and Ammunition, which being commanded by Colonel *HAMBDEN* and Colonel *GRANTHAM*, (as aforesaid) was now come to *Keynton*, and lodged there. The King had drawne out his Horse upon the further side of the hill, where he stayed till toward night, whilst his Foot were retiring behinde the Hill, and marching-away. A little before night, his Horse also withdrew themselves; and about an houre after, the Parliament-Horse marched quite away, and went with the rest of the Army to *Warwick* to refresh themselves.

That going to *Warwick* was thought by a noble Gentleman of the Parliament-side to be ill designed. For (saith he) had the Army, instead of going to *Warwick*, marched toward *Banbury*, we should have found more Victuals, and had, in probability, dispersed all the Foot of the King's Army, taken his Cannons and Carriages, and sent his Horse farther off: whereas now, because we did not follow them, though they quitted the field whereon they fought, and left their Quarter before us, yet they began soone after to question who had the day. Howsoever it were, true it is, that the King, no lesse than the Parliament, pretended to be victorious in that Battell; and so farre ascribed the Victory to his owne side, that a Prayer of thanksgiving to God was made at *Oxford* for it. A thanksgiving was also on the Parliament-side for the Victory of that day. And it is certaine, that there were many markes of Victory on both Armies; Colours and Cannon were taken on both sides, without any great difference in the number of them. And, though in Speeches made afterwards by either Party, and Bookes printed, there is no consent at all concerning the number of men slain, but so great a discrepancy, as it is almost a shame to insert into an History; yet, surely, by the best account there were more slaine on the King's side than on the other. Those of quality that were lost on both Parties, were, of the King's, the Earle of *Lindsey*, Lord-General of his Army, the Lord *AUBIGNY*, brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, Sir *EDWARD VARNEY* Standard-Bearer, Colonel *Sir EDMUND MONROE*, a Scottish Gentleman, and Colonel *LUNSFORD* his Brother, with other Gentlemen and Commanders, besides common Souldiers, whose number (as is before said) would not be agreed-upon; yet I have heard, that the country people thereabouts, by burying of the naked bodies, found the number to be about six thousand that fell on both sides, besides those which died afterwards of their wounds. There were taken Prisoners of the King's side, the Lord *WILLOUGHBY*, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of *Lindsey*, Colonel *VAVASOR*, Colonel *LUNSFORD*, Sir *EDWARD STRADLING*, with others of lesse note; a George, the Badge of a Knight of the Garter, was found in the field by a Common Souldier (besides that which the Lord-General *Lindsey* wore and had about his neck when he was slaine) and bought of him by a Captaine, which was sent-up to the Parliament, there viewed and restored againe to the Captaine.

The Loss of persons of distinction in the King's Army in this bloody battel.

The Loss of the like persons in the Parliament's Army.

On the Parliament side there were slaine only the following persons of marke and quality: the Lord *St. JOHN*, Eldest Sonne to the Earle of *BULLENBROKE*, Colonel *CHARLES*

CHARLES ESSEX, and Lieutenant-Colonel RAMSEY, and none of any great note taken prisoners.

The Battel was fought with great courage on both sides, both by the Generals and other commanders, besides some particular regiments of Souldiers, who were observed to performe their parts with great courage and bravery, such as Colonel HOLLIS's Regiment of Redcoats, and others, too many to be all named in a short Discourse.

It could not but fall into the observation of many men, that the yeare before, upon the same day of the Moneth, namely, the 23d of October, that this famous Battel of Keynton was fought, the bloody Rebellion of the Irish had broke-out, with that inhumane Massacre of the English Protestants in that Kingdom; by which observation the English, by their owne losse and bleeding in the present battel, were sadly put in minde, that they had too long deferred the revenge of their butchered brethren in Ireland.

It was likewise observed by many men of the Parliament-side (who seemed to make no question but that the Victory was on their side,) as a further blessing of God to the Protestant Cause, that on the very same day that this Battel was wonne in England, the Sweeds obtained a very great and notable Victory against the Imperialists and those of the Roman Religion in Germany.

But the King, supposing himselfe victorious at Keynton-field, immediately published a Declaration, *To all his loving Subjects* (for so it is styled) *after his Victory against the Rebels*. Wherein, though the expostulation be very bitter, yet he endeavoureth that it should not seeme to be made against the Parliament itselfe, but against some of them, whom he termeth *malignant*, and *malicious*, with other such-like Epithets, as having laboured to lay aspersions upon him of things, whereof he professeth himselfe altogether innocent. Those aspersions he makes of two sorts; the first is, concerning his favouring of Popery, and employing Papists in his Army; the second, of raising that Army against the Parliament. Both which he labours to wipe-off, with a recrimination against the Parliament. For the first, after a great Protestation of the truth of his Religion, and his past, present, and future care for the better establishing of it in his Dominions, with the extirpation of Popery; though he cannot but acknowledge, that some eminent men of that Religion are armed in his Service, which he thinks excusable in so great a necessity and danger as he was in; yet he tells the Parliament, That, in their Army, there are more Papists, Commanders and others, than in his.

For the second, That he levyed his Army against the Parliament. He seemeth to hope, that none of his good Subjects will beleieve it, unlesse they will beleieve that a dozen, or twenty, factious and seditious persons be the high Court of Parliament, which consists of King, Lords, and Commons. As to the Priviledges of Parliament, he averres, That whosoever will not believe "the right to raise an Army to kill their King; To alter the Government and Lawes by extravagant Votes of either or both Houses; To force the Members to submit to their Faction, and to take-away freedome of consultation from them;" to be some of the Priviledges of Parliament; must confesse, That the Army, now raised by the King, is no lesse for the vindication and preservation of Parliaments, than for his own necessary defence.

The

The King publishes
a Declaration against
the Parliament.

The King chargeth them likewise with uncharity, That they have endeavoured to raise an implacable hatred between the Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdome, by rendring all persons of Honour odious to the Common People, under the style of *Cavaliers*; and to perswade the people, that there was an intention by the Commission of Array, to take-away a part of their Estates from them. Which he denyes, and concludes with Protestations to the contrary.

The Parliament publishes a full and distinct answer to the said Declaration.

The Parliament returned answer to this Declaration, but not as being the King's (according to their oft-mentioned custome) but as coming from wicked and malicious contrivers of falshood and scandals, Who, (say they) to our unspeakable sorrowes, have gained so much power with his Majesty, as to vent the same under the Title of his owne Royal Name.

For the first objection; They do not affirme that the King favours Popery himselfe, but justifie that things have been carried in the favour of it by some about him, according to the particular instances in many of their former Declarations. They seeme to be amazed at the strange boldnesse of the Contrivers of that Declaration, in averring that there are more Papists in their Army than in the King's; whereas they cannot, or at least, do not name any one; which they desire may be done, if there be any such, that the Parliament may know how to displace them. But the Parliament, in their Answer, name many of greatest ranke and quality of that Religion in the King's Army, who have raised him in some Counties the most considerable Forces which he hath; and many Commissions granted by himselfe to Papists, acknowledged to be so. That it were senselesse to thinke that any Papists favoured the Parliament's Cause at all; whereas it is certaine, that there are none of that Religion, but are, either openly or secretly, assistant to that cause which the King hath taken.

For the second objection; That the King's Forces are not levyed against the Parliament itselfe, but against a few seditious persons. *They thinke it an impossible thing that twelve, or twenty, such seditious persons (as they are termed) should have power to compel the rest of that Body to submit to their Faction, and to have their freedome of consultation taken from them.*

The truth is (say they) not a few persons, but the Parliament itselfe, is the thorne that lyes in these men's sides; which heretofore, when it was wont to prick them, was with much ease, by a sudden dissolution, pulled-out: But now that it is more deeply fastened by an Act of continuance, they would force it out by the power of an Army.

N. B.

That whosoever will read the Speeches and Declarations made upon the breaking-up of all former Parliaments, ever since the beginning of this King's Reigne, will finde the pretences of those unjust dissolutions, to be grounded upon exceptions against particular Members, under the name of a few factious and seditious persons; so that the aspersing and wounding of the Parliament throughout the sides of a few Members, is no new invention.

But (say they) those former Declarations in the King's name, being groundlesse invectives, not against particular Members, but against the Votes and Proceedings of both Houses; and declaring the Earle of *Essex*, General of the Forces raised by

by them, to be a Traytor; and that all those who assist him, (thereby comprehending both Houses of Parliament, by whose Command and Authority he bears that place,) are Rebels, and guilty of High Treason, is argument sufficient (no groundlesse accusation) to prove the King's Army to be raised against the Parliament, or to take-away the Priviledges thereof.

Those Priviledges of Parliament, consisting in three things: 1. As they are a Conncil to advise. 2. A Court to judge. 3. A representative body of the Realme, to make, repeal, or alter Lawes. These Priviledges have (say they) during the sitting of this Parliament, been all apparently broken, to the view of all men, by the King's wicked Council. Their advice scarce at all hearkened-unto by the King, but other counsels of unknowne persons preferred before them. For the second, as a Court to judge; The Delinquents, so pronounced by the Parliament, have been protected by the King against them; of which they give many particular instances. Touching the third for making Laws; They instance his refusal of many wholesome Bills for Church and State; besides the breaking of their Priviledges, they produce some attempts utterly to subvert them, as the forementioned endeavour of bringing-up the Northerne Army, to force Conditions upon the Parliament; the King's Letters and Commands to Members of both Houses to attend him at *Yorke*, leaving their true and legal station; which commands when they obeyed, it was scandalously alledged that they were driven-away [from the Parliament by tumults of the people].

Of the breaches of the Priviledges of Parliament lately made by the King.

For any violence intended to the King's Person, as they utterly deny it, so they referre it to indifferent men to judge, by all their long sufferings, and humble Petitions to him, to avoid those endangerings of his Person. But for that imputation layed upon them, of an endeavour to raise an implacable malice and hatred betweene the Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdome; They conceive it a Charge of a strange nature, that they should endeavour to raise the hatred of the Commonalty against themselves. *For so it must follow, unlesse the Contrivers of that Declaration will deny the Parliament to be Gentlemen. But, though we know (say they) well, there are too many of the Gentry of this Kingdome, who, to satisfy the lusts of their owne ambition, are content to sell their birth right, to render themselves and their posterity to perpetual slavery, and to submit themselves to any arbitrary and unlimited power of Government, so that they may, for their owne time, partake of that power, to trample and insult over others; Yet we are certaine that there are many true-hearted Gentlemen, who are ready to lay-downe their lives and fortunes (and of late have given ample testimony thereof) for maintenance of their Lawes, Liberties, and Religion; with whom, and others of their resolution, we shall be ready to live and dye.*

Effects of the late Battle on the minds of the English Gentry who had hitherto remained neutral.

N.B.

N.B.

Lastly, they prove, by particular instances, that in the King's Commission of Array, there is not onely an intention to take-away part of men's Estates, but that it hath been put into reall execution; with many other things in justification of all their proceedings and Declarations; which may be read more at large in the Records. This was the effect of that verbal Skirmish, which immediately followed the great and bloody Battell of *Keynton*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Parliament send to the King, concerning an Accommodation. A fight at Branford. Another Treaty with the King begun, and broken-off. Reading besieged by the Lord General ESSEX, and surrendered to him. A Conspiracy to betray Bristol. A treacherous Plot against the Parliament and City of London, discovered and prevented.

Effects of the late
Battle on the minds
of the English Gen-
try who had hitherto
remained neutral.

AT the famous Battell of *Edgehill*, the great cause of English Liberty, (with a vast expense of blood and Treasure) was tryed, but not decided; which did therefore prove unhappy, even to that side, which seemed victorious, the Parliament-Army.

For, though the King's Forces were much broken by it, yet his strength grew, accidentally, greater and more formidable than before; to whom it proved a kinde of victory, not to be easily, or totally, overthrowne.

For the greatest Gentlemen of divers Counties began then to consider of the King, as of one that, in possibility, might prove a Conqueror against the Parliament; and many of them, who before, as Neuters, had stood at gaze, in hope that one quick blow might cleare the doubt, and save them the danger of declaring themselves, came now in, and readily adhered to that side on which there seemed to be least feares and greatest hopes, which was the King's Party. For, on the Parliament-side, the encouragements were only of a publike kind, and nothing promised but the free enjoyment of their native Liberty; no particular honours, preferments, or Estates of Enemies; and, on the other hand, no such total ruine could be threatened from a victorious Parliament, (being abody, as it were, of the people themselves,) as from an incensed Prince, and such hungry followers as usually go along with Princes in those waies. And how much private interest will over-sway publike notions, Books of History, rather than Philosophy, will truly informe you; for concerning humane actions and dispositions, here is nothing under the Sunne which is absolutely new.

Looke

N. B.

Looke upon the Discourse of one Historian on that subject, DION CASSIUS, (a Writer of as little biass, in the opinion of all Criticks, as any among the Antients,) when he relates the last Warre about Roman Liberty; after which (as himselfe speaks) that People never againe looked-back toward it: Which was the Warre of BRUTUS and CASSIUS against CÆSAR and ANTONY. *Et si ante hanc pugnam civilibus bellis, &c.* Although (saith DION) before this War they had many Civil Wars, yet in others they fought who should oppresse the Roman Liberty; in this War, one side fought to vindicate Liberty, the other to bring-in Tyranny; yet the side of Tyranny prevailed, and drew most followers to it. Of what quality they were, the same Historian speaks also: The Armies of BRUTUS and CASSIUS, that stood for Liberty, consisted of the lower sort of people, and *Ex subditis Romanorum*; the other, that stood for Tyranny, consisted (saith he) *Ex Romanis Nobilibus, & Fortibus*. BRUTUS and CASSIUS, the two chiefe Commanders of the former army, making Orations to their Souldiers before the Battel, encouraged them to fight for their ancient freedome and the Roman Laws; but CÆSAR and ANTONY promised to their Souldiers the Estates of their Enemies, *Et imperium in omnes Gentiles suos*, and power to rule over their owne Countrymen; which proved, it seemes, better Oratory than the other, and more persuasive. BRUTUS and CASSIUS delayed the Battel, as loath to waste so much blood, if by any other stratagem they might have succeeded; because they were (saith DION) good men, and pityed their Countrymen, loving the safety, and striving for the Liberty, even of those men who fought against them, to overthrow that Liberty. Yet that delay proved ill; and many Noblemen in that time forsook them, and turned to the other side, to which their private hopes, or feares, inclined them. Whether the parallel will, in some measure, fit this occasion, or not, I leave it to the Reader to determine; and I returne to the Narration.

The Earle of *Essex*, the next day after *Keynton*-Battel, marched with his Army toward *Warwick*, to which Towne he arrived safe, disposing of the Prisoners, Waggon, and Ordnance, which he had taken, into that Castle, with resolution, after some short refreshment of his men there, to march neerer to the King: But the King returned toward *Oxford*, seizing by the way upon *Banbury*, from whence he tooke 1500 Armes, and turned-out the Parliament-Souldiers that were quartered there.

His Army, consisting especially of Horse, was divided into several Bodyes; and Prince RUPERT, with part of it, visited the Towns neere adjacent, as *Abingdon*, *Henley*, and other places; from whence he returned with great booty.

Within few daies he made a neerer approach toward *London*, but with a flying Army, resting in no place, and stretching sometimes as farre as *Stanes* and *Egham*: which made the City of *London* careful to provide for their safety against sudden incursions, and send Forces to possesse and fortifie *Windsor*-Castle.

In the mean time, to secure *London*, and free those parts from greater feares, the Earle of *Essex* had marched with his Army neerer to that City, and on the seventh day of *November* came himselfe to *Westminster* (his Army being billited about *Acton*, and other neere places) and was welcomed by both Houses of Par-

The Lord-General
Essex comes to Lon-
don on the 7th of
November, 1642.

liament, who presented him with a gift of 5000 *l.* as an acknowledgement of their thanks, in behalfe of the Kingdome, for his care, paines, and valour, in the actions already passed.

A fight at Brainford,
November 12, 1642.

But before the Earle of *Essex* departed from *London*, another bloody tragedy was acted, and the scene no farther than *Brainford*, [or *Brentford*,] about eight miles distance, the King himselfe being there, or not farre-off, in Person. The manner and occasion of it shall be in brieft related.

The Parliament expressing great grieve for this unnatural Warre and bloodshed, that this endangered Kingdome might be saved from ruine, and the better meanes made to recover *Ireland*, had agreed upon a Petition for Accommodation, to be presented to the King, then at *Colebrook*, by the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Pembrooke*, with foure Commons, the Lord *WAINMAN*, Master *PERPOINT*, Sir *JOHN EVELIN*, and Sir *JOHN IPSLEY*; Sir *PETER KILLIGREW* was sent before to procure a safe Conduct. But the King refused to admit of Sir *JOHN EVELIN*, because he was one whom himselfe had named a Traytor the day before. This exception of the King's was extremely distasted by the Parliament; yet so great was their desire of Accommodation, that, although this excepting of Sir *JOHN EVELIN* were voted by them a breach of Priviledge, and a flat denyal from the King, the Petition was sent by the five forenamed Lords and Gentlemen, Sir *JOHN EVELIN* being very willing to be left-out.

The King being then at *Colebrook*, fifteene miles distant, seemed to receive the Petition with great willingnesse, and returned them a faire Answer, calling God to witnesse in many Protestations, that he was tenderly compassionate of his bleeding people, and more desirous of nothing, than a speedy peace; to which purpose he was most willing, at any place where he should reside, not farre from *London*, to receive such Propositions of Peace as they should send, and to treat with them.

As soone as the Parliament-Lords returned with this Answer, the King's Artillery (according to all relations) advanced forwards with divers Troops of Horse, thorow that Towne of *Colebrook*, after them towards *London*; and, taking advantage of a great mist which happened that Friday night, they marched to *Brainford*, and fell upon the Parliament-Forces which were there quartered; which were a broken Regiment of Colonel *HOLLIS*, but stout men, who had before done great service. Of them the King's Forces killed many, and had quite destroyed all in probability, if the Lord *BROOK*'s and Colonel *HAMDEN*'s Regiments, (which were billitted not farre-off,) had not made haste to their reliefe; who, coming-in, maintained a great and bloody fight against the King's Forces, where many were slaine on both sides, and many taken Prisoners; both Parties (as before it happened at *Keynton-Battel*,) esteeming themselves conquerors, and so reporting afterwards. The newes of this unexpected fight was soone brought to *London*, where also the noise of the great Artillery was easily heard.

The Lord-General *Essex*, then sitting at *Westminster*, in the House of Peeres, tooke Horse immediately, and, with what strength he could call-together on such a sudden, came-in to the rescue of his engaged Regiments; but night had parted them, and

and the King was retired to his best advantages ; all that night the City of *London* poured-out men toward *Brainford*, who every houre marched thither, and all the Lords and Gentlemen that belonged to the Army, were there ready on the Sunday morning, being the 14th of *November*, a force great enough to have swallowed-up a farre greater Army than the King had. Besides, the King's Forces were encompassed on every side ; insomuch that great hope was conceived by most men, that the period of this sad Warre was now come. But God was not yet appeased toward this Nation ; a fatal doore was opened to let-out the inclosed King : Three thousand of the Parliament-Souldiers were then at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, a Towne about ten miles distant from the City ; which Souldiers were all (as it happened) commanded to leave that Towne, and march thorow *Surrey*, with what speed they could, and over *London Bridge*, so thorow the City toward *Brainford*, to prevent the enemies passage to *London*. The reason of that Command was afterward given, for that the Lord-General was not assured of strength enough to stop the Enemy from *London*, nor could before-hand be assured of so great an Army, as came thither before morning. But this was the event of it ; and thorow *Kingstone* thus abandoned the King retreated ; and, leaving some Troops to face his Enemies, brought all his Foot and Artillery over that Bridge, which, drawing-up afterward, he had time enough securely to plunder many places of that Country, and retire safely to *Oxford*, where he intended to take-up his winter Quarters.

The Parliament, upon this Action of the King, began to be out of hope of doing any good by Treaties, and resolved that the Lord-General, with all speed that might be, should pursue the King's Forces, and fall upon them about *Oxford* and *Reading* ; for newes was daily brought them how active his Parties were, under the conduct of Prince *RUPERT* and others, in plundering all the places thereabouts. And the City of *London*, to encourage the Parliament with a free tender of their service, framed a Petition to them, to intreat them, *That they would proceed no further in the businesse of Accommodation, because evil Counsel was so prevalent with the King that he would but delude them ; That they had heard that his Forces were weake, and that, if his Excellency would follow and fall upon them, and that no delayes be made for feare of forraigne Forces coming-over, the City, as heretofore, would, with all willingnesse, spend their lives and fortunes to assist the Parliament.*

The City was thanked for their Petition and Protestation, and the Lord-General was moved by the Parliament to advance ; who, though the season of the yeare were not very fit for so great a Body to march, was very desirous to obey their Commands. The best way was thought to be to divide his Army, and send several parties to different places, to restraints the Enemies from annoying the Countries ; as, to *Buckingham*, *Marlow*, *Reading*, and other parts, until himselfe with his whole force could be well accommodated to march from *Windsor* (where he lay that winter) toward the King. But it so fell-out, either by reason of ill weather at some times, or, at others, for want of Money or fit accommodation, that the General himselfe, with his maine Army, marched not forth until the spring : when his first businesse was to lay siege to *Reading*, which was fortified by the King's Forces, and maintained by a

The Lord-General
Essex besieges Reading, April 25, 1643.

Garrison of 3000 Souldiers, and 20 Peeeces of Ordnance; before which Towne he sate downe upon the five and twentieth day of *April*, 1643, with an Army of about 16,000 Foot, and 3000 Horse.

The Parliament
sends Commissioners
to the King at Oxford, with Propositions of Peace, January 31, 1642-3.

Now (leaving the Lord-General before *Reading* with his Army) in the meane time we will shew one maine reason why he did no sooner advance. The expectation of another Treaty, which the Parliament had desired to have with the King, for settling of the Kingdome's Peace, (which proved fruitlesse,) in debate lasted a long time. Propositions were drawne-up by the Parliament, and sent to *Oxford* on the 31st of *January*, 1642, by foure Lords and eight Commoners, the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Sarum*, and *Holland*, Lord *WAINMAN*, Lord *DUNGARVAN*, Sir *JOHN HOLLAND*, Sir *WILLIAM LITTON*, Master *PERPOINT*, Master *WALLER*, Master *WHITLOCK*, Master *WINHOOD*; the Propositions were:

1. That the King would passe those Bills which the Houses had made ready.
2. To passe a Bill for settling Parliament-Priviledges and Liberties.
3. For bringing to tryal those Delinquents whom the Houses had impeached since *January* last.
4. For clearing the six Members before-mentioned.
5. For restoring all Judges and Officers of State lately removed.
6. To passe a Bill for re-paying the charge of the Kingdome.
7. A Bill for an Act of Oblivion.
8. An Act for a general pardon without exception.
9. That there may be a Cessation of Armes for fourteene daies, to agree upon these Propositions.

The King makes
other propositions
to the Parliament.
In February, 1642.

The King not liking, nor yet utterly refusing, these Propositions, sent the Commissioners home to their Parliament, within a weeke after they came, to carry six Propositions from him to the Houses; which were:

1. That his Revenue, Magazines, Townes, Forts, and Ships, may be delivered to him.
2. That all Orders and Ordinances of Parliament wanting his assent, may be recalled.
3. That all power exercised over his Subjects by Assesements, and imprisoning their persons, may be disclaimed.
4. That he will yeeld to the execution of the Laws against Papists, provided that the Booke of Common Prayer be confirmed.
5. That such persons as, upon the Treaty, shall be excepted out of the general Pardon, shall be tryed by their Peeres onely.
6. That there be a Cessation of Armes during the Treaty.

The Houses, upon receiving of these Propositions, though at first it were the opinion of many, not to send any Answer at all to them; yet at last, to shew respect to the King, entred into a further debate about treating with him concerning the Propositions on both sides, and concerning the Cessation of Arms, or disbanding; with such limitations and restrictions touching the order of treating, as would perchance seeme too tedious to be here related; and on the 20th of *March* the

the Earle of *Northumberland*, Sir JOHN HOLLAND, Sir WILLIAM ARMINE, Master PERPOINT, and Master WHITLOCK (the Lord SAY should have been one, but the King excepted against him, as formerly against Sir JOHN EVELIN, upon the same ground, which though the Parliament tooke ill at the first, yet they proceeded in the businesse) were sent to *Oxford* as Treaters upon those Propositions. In vaine was this Treaty; so high the demands were judged to be on both sides, that there seemed no possibility of ever meeting. Where the fault lay, I judge not; but the Parliament, after many Messages betweene *London* and *Oxford*, at last sent for their Commissioners home againe; who returned to *London* upon the 17th of *April*; upon which the Lord-General immediately advanced with his Army (as aforesaid) to besiege *Reading*.

The Parliament again sends Commissioners to the King at *Oxford*, to treat of Peace, March 20, 1642-3.

The Earl of Essex besieges *Reading*, April 19, 1643.

Reading was not able to hold-out long; but the Lord-General was loath to storme it for feare of destroying so many innocent people as remained in the Towne; which compassion of his was well-approved of by the Parliament; therefore upon composition it was rendred within sixteene daies to his Excellency; by the Deputy-Governour, Colonel FIELDING; for the Governour, Sir ARTHUR ASTON, was before wounded by an accident, and could not performe the Office. The Termes were easie; for they all marched-out with bagge and baggage. This siege had not at all advantaged the Parliament, if another businesse had not fallen-out during that short siege; which may also be thought a reason, why the Towne was so soone rendred. A good Body of the King's Forces, both Horse and Foot (the King himselfe in Person not farre from them) came to relieve *Reading*, assaulting one Quarter of the Parliament-Army at *Causum* Bridge, within a mile of the Towne, and were beaten-back with great slaughter, which fell especially upon Gentlemen of quality, of whom the King at that encounter lost a considerable number; but how many they were, or their particular names, I finde not mentioned.

Reading is surrendered to the Earl of Essex. In the beginning of May, 1643.

The gaining of *Reading* might seeme an addition of strength to the Parliament-side; it proved otherwise: Nothing was gotten but a bare Towne, which had been happier, had it been onely so: But the Towne was infected, and caused afterwards a great mortality in the Parliament-Army. And, besides, the Souldiers were discontented, because, though their pay was much in arrear, they were not suffered to plunder, or make any benefit of their victory. For the Parliament, before *Reading* was delivered-up, had approved of the Conditions, and promised to the Lord-General's Souldiers, to induce them to forbear plundering, twelve shillings a man, besides their pay. But neither of these promises were then performed; money beginning already to be wanting, and the great Magazine of Treasure in *Guild-Hall* being quite consumed. While they stayed there, expecting money, the sicknesse and mortality daily increased, and the Lord-General, by advice of his Council of War, intended to march thence for better ayre. But such a general mutiny was raised for want of Money, that his Excellency, though with much courage and just severity he began to suppress it, was advised by his Council of Waire to desist, for feare of a general defection, till money might come from the City. Notwithstanding, upon this discontent in the Army, whilst his Excellency removed to *Causum* House to avoid the infection,

A contagious sickness breaks-out at *Reading*, of which many of the Parliament's Soldiers die.

many

The King's troops,
under Sir Ralph
Hopton, are success-
ful in Devonshire.

many of the Souldiers disbanded, and went away. Then began a tide of misfortune to flow-in upon the Parliament side; and their strength almost in every place to decrease at one time; for during the time of these six moneths, since the Battel of *Keynton*, until this present distresse of the Lord-General's Army about *Causum*, which was about the beginning of *May*, the Warre had gone on with great fury and heat, almost thorow every part of *England*; the particulars of which shall hereafter be related by themselves, to avoid confusion in the Story: The Lord-General had at that time intelligence that Sir RALPH HOPTON had given a great defeat to the Parliament-Forces of *Devonshire*; and that Prince MAURICE, and the Marquesse of HARTFORD were designed that way, to possesse themselves wholly of the West.

Leaving therefore the Lord-General awhile, I shall proceed to speak of some things which happened at other places in that Moneth of *May*. The King's Armies were then in faire possibility of gaining the whole West; and seemed of strength enough to atchieve it by open Warre, without the assistance of secret treacheries and conspiracies; which, notwithstanding, were then in agitation, though they proved not successful against the Parliament, but destructive to the contrivers. As at *Bristol*, a place of great import, and much desired by the King's Forces, when the plot of betraying that City to Prince RUPERT was set on foot; which I here relate, as falling-out about the beginning of *May*, 1643.

A Plot at Bristol to
betray that city to
the King's troops,
May 12, 1642.

The City of *Bristol* was then in the Parliament's protection, and governed by Colonel NATHANIEL FIENNES, second Sonne to the Viscount SAY and SEALE, though many of the Inhabitants there, (as appeared by this designe,) were disaffected to the Parliament's side.

This designe was very bloody, and many of that City had perished in it, had not the Conspirators been discovered and apprehended a little before they were to put it in execution.

It is discovered and
prevented, and two
of the conspirators
are put to death.

ROBERT YEOMANS, late Sheriffe of *Bristol*, WILLIAM YEOMANS his brother, GEORGE BOURCHIER, and EDWARD DACRES, were the chiefe managers of this Designe; who, with many others of that opinion, had secretly provided themselves with Armes, intending to kill the Centinels by night, and possesse the maine Guard, (with other particulars, to be found in the Records of their examinations, and the proofes against them) whereby to master the greatest part of the other side within the Towne, to kill the Mayor, and many others that were knowne to stand affected to the Parliament; and by that meanes to betray the City to the King's Forces. In expectation of which act, Prince RUPERT, with other Commanders, and about 4000 Horse, and 2000 Foot, stayed upon *Durdam Downes*, about two miles from the City. But the Plot was discovered, and the Conspirators apprehended, and brought to trial by a Council of warre, where the foure persons forenamed were condemned, and two of them hanged at *Bristol*, namely, ROBERT YEOMANS, and GEORGE BOURCHIER; although great meanes had been made to save them, and Colonel FIENNES to that purpose had been threatened from *Oxford*, by General RIVEN (created by the King Earle of *Forth*) in a Letter unto him; which being of great consequence,

for

for the cleare understanding of this War, and the nature of it, I have thought fit to insert it here, together with the Answer thereunto.

PATRICK Earle of *Forth*, Lord ETTERICK, and Lord-Lieutenant of all His Majesty's Forces.

I, Having been informed, that lately at a Council of Warre you have condemned to death Robert Yeomans, late Sheriffe of Bristol, who hath His Majesty's Commission for raising a Regiment for his Service, William Yeomans his brother, George Bouchier, and Edward Dacres, all for expressing their Loyalty to His Majesty, and endeavouring his Service according to their Allegiance; and that you intend to proceed speedily against divers others in the like manner: Do therefore signifie to you, that I intend speedily to put Master George, Master Stevens, Captaine Huntley, and others, taken in Rebellion against His Majesty at Cicester, into the same condition. I do further advise you, that, if you offer, by that unjust Judgement, to execute any of them you have so condemned; that those here in custody, Master George, Master Stevens, and Captaine Huntley, must expect no favour or mercy.

Given under my hand at Oxford,
this 16th of May, 1643.

To the Commander in Chiefe of the
Council of Warre in *Bristol*.

FORTH.

The Answer to this Letter was as followeth:

NATHANIEL FIENNES, Governour, and the Council of War in the City of *Bristol*.

Having received a Writing from your Lordship, wherein it is declared, that, upon information of our late proceedings against Robert Yeomans, William Yeomans, and others, you intend speedily to put Master George, Master Stevens, Captaine Huntley, and others, into the same condition: We are well assured, that neither your Lordship, nor any other mortal man, can put them into the same condition; for, whether they live or dye, they will alwaies be accounted true and honest men, faithful to their King and Country, and such as in a faire and open way have alwaies prosecuted that Cause, which in their judgement, guided by the judgement of the highest Court, they held the justest; whereas the Conspirators of this City, must, both in life and death, carry perpetually with them the brand of Treachery and

and Conspiracy: And, if Robert Yeomans had made use of his Commission in an open way, he should be put into no worse condition, than others in the like kinde had been; but the Law of nature among all men, and the law of Armes among Souldiers, make a difference betweene open Enemies, and secret Spies and Conspirators. And, if you shall not make the like distinction, we do signifie unto you, that we will not onely proceed to the execution of the persons already condemned, but also of divers others of the Conspirators, unto whom we had some thoughts of extending mercy. And we do further advertise you, that, if, by any inhumane and un-Souldier-like sentence, you shall proceed to the execution of the persons by you named, or any other of our friends in your custody, that have beene taken in a faire and open way of War; then Sir Walter Pye, Sir William Crofts, and Colonel Connesbey, with divers others taken in open Rebellion, and actual War against the King and Kingdom, whom we have here in custody, must expect no favour or mercy. And, by God's blessing upon our most just Cause, we have powers enough, for our friends security, without taking-in any that have gotten out of our reach and power, although divers of yours, of no mean quality and condition, have been released by us. Given under our hands the 18th of May, 1643.

To Patrick Earle of Forth,
Lord Lieut. General.

Nathaniel Fiennes, President,
Clement Walker, &c.

The King also at that time writ a very sharpe command to the Mayor and Citizens of *Bristol*, to raise what power they could to hinder the execution of those men, which he termes the murder of his loyal Subjects: But nothing availed to save their lives; for the forenamed ROBERT YEOMANS, and GEORGE BOURCHIER, according to the sentence, were both executed. The losse of *Bristol* from the Parliament, a place of great import, was thus by the detection and prevention of this Conspiracy, respited for a while onely. For, not long after, it was surrendered to Prince RUPERT; and happier it was for the Prince himselfe, to gaine that City in a more honourable way, and with lesse effusion of English blood.

Another Plot in
London against the
Parliament, in May,
1643.

At the same time that these Conspirators against *Bristol* were, by sentence of a Council of Warre, put to death; another Plot of a higher nature, and more full of horror, was detected at *London*; a Plot, which, if it had not been discovered, would have quite ruined the Parliament itselfe, and strooke at the very head and chiefe residence of it, the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; which cannot be omitted in this Relation, though with as much brevity as can be possible, it shall be touched.

The scope of it was to have put in execution the Commission of Array within *London* and *Westminster*, and so to have raised a sufficient force for the King's side to ruine the Parliament. Many Citizens of *London* were in the Plot, together with

with some Gentlemen besides, who had taken an Oath of secrecy among themselves; and were the more animated in it upon promises, which Master WALLER, the chiefe man in eminence among them (a Member of the House of Commons) had made to some of the rest, that many Members of both Houses of Parliament were engaged in the Plot, and would, in due time, be assistants to it: Though it proved in conclusion, that Master WALLER was not able to make good so much as he had promised. The Plot was horrid, and could not possibly have been put in execution without a great effusion of blood, as must needs appeare by the particular branches of it, which were confessed upon the Examinations of Master WALLER, Master TOMKINS, Master CHALLENGOR, Master HASELL, Master BLINKHORNE, Master WHITE, and others, the chiefe Actors in it.

That which appeared by the Narrative Declaration, published by Authority of Parliament, was to this effect: That

1. They should seize into their custody the King's Children.
2. To seize upon several Members of both Houses of Parliament, and upon the Lord Mayor of *London*, and the Committee of the Militia there, under pretence of bringing them to legal tryal.
3. To seize upon all the Citie's out-Works and Forts; and upon the Tower of *London*; and upon all the Magazines, Gates, and other places of importance in the City.
4. To let-in the King's Forces, in order, with their assistance, to surprize the City; to destroy all those, who should, by Authority of Parliament, be their opposers; and, by force of Armes, to resist all payments imposed by the Authority of both the Houses for the support of the Armies employed in their defence.

Many other particulars there were, too tedious to relate at large; as, what signals should have been given to the King's Forces of Horse, to invade the City; what Colours for difference, those of the Plot should weare, to be knowne to their fellowes, and such like. Much heartened they were in this businesse by a Commission of Array sent from *Oxford* at that time, from the King to them, and brought secretly to *London* by a Lady, the Lady AUBIGNY, Daughter to the Earle of *Suffolke*, a Widow ever since the Battel of *Keynton*; where the Lord AUBIGNY, her husband, was slaine.

That Commission of Array was directed from the King to Sir NICHOLAS CRISPE, Sir GEORGE STROUD, Knights, to Sir THOMAS GARDINER, Knight, Recorder of *London*, Sir GEORGE BINION, Knight, RICHARD EDES, and MARMADUKE ROYDEN, Esquires, THOMAS BROWNE, PETER PAGGON, CHARLES GENNINGS, EDWARD CARLETON, ROBERT ABBOT, ANDREW KING, WILLIAM WHITE, STEVEN BOLTON, ROBERT ALDEM, EDMUND FOSTER, THOMAS BLINKHORNE, of *London*, Gentlemen; and to all such other persons, as, according to the true intent and purport of that Commission, should be nominated and appointed to be Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Serjeant-Majors, or other Officers of that Council of Warre. The Commission itselfe is to be read at large in the Parliament-Records.

It is detected on the
31st day of May, and
two of the conspira-
tors are put to death.

But this Conspiracy was prevented, and proved fatal to some of the Contrivers; being detected upon the last day of *May* (which happened at that time to be the day of the Monethly Fast) and Master WALLER, Master TOMKINS, with other of the forenamed Conspirators, being apprehended, were that night examined by divers grave Members of the Parliament, of whom Master PYM was one; and afterwards reserved in custody for a Tryal. They were arraigned in *Guild-Hall*, and Master WALLER, Master TOMKINS, Master CHALLONER, Master HASELL, Master WHITE, and Master BLINKHORNE, were all condemned; none were executed but Master TOMKINS, and Master CHALLONER, who were both hanged, Master TOMKINS in *Holborne*, and Master CHALLONER in *Cornhill*, both within sight of their own dwelling-houses; Master HASELL dyed in Prison; BLINKHORNE, and the other, were, by the mercy of the Parliament, and the Lord-General *Essex*, reprieved, and saved afterwards; Master WALLER, the chiefe of them, was long detained Prisoner in the Tower, and, about a yeare after, upon payment of a Fine of ten thousand pounds, was pardoned, and released to go travel abroad. It was much wondered-at, and accordingly discoursed-of by many at that time, what the reason should be, why Master WALLER, being the principal Agent in that Conspiracy, (where Master TOMKINS and Master CHALLONER, who had been drawne in by him, as their own Confessions, even at their deaths, expressed, were both executed) did escape with life. The onely reason which I could ever heare given for it, was, that Master WALLER had been so free in his Confessions at the first, (without which the Plot could not have been clearly detected;) that Master PYM, and others of the Examiners, had engaged their promise, to do whatever they could to preserve his life. He seemed also much smitten in conscience, and desired the comfort of godly Ministers, being extremely penitent for that foule offence; and afterwards, in his Speech to the House, (when he came to be put-out of it) much bewailed his offence, thanking God that so mischievous and bloody a Conspiracy had been discovered, before it could take effect.

CHAP. III.

Matters of State transacted in Parliament, touching the Assembly of Divines. The making of a new Great Seale. Impeaching the Queene of High Treason, and other things. The Lord-General Essex, after some Marches, returneth to quarter his wasted and sick Army about Kingston. The King's Forces are Masters of the West. The Earl of Newcastle's greatnesse in the North. Some mention of the Earle of Cumberland, and the Lord FAIRFAX.

AT the same time that these Conspiracies were closely working to undermine the Parliament, and Warre was raging in highest fury throughout the Kingdome; many State-businesses of an unusual nature had been transacted in the Parliament-sitting. For things were growne beyond any precedent of former ages, and the very foundations of Government were shaken: according to the sense of that Vote, which the Lords and Commons had passed a yeare before, *That, whensoever the King maketh Warre against the Parliament, it tendeth to the dissolution of this Government.*

Three things of that unusual nature fell into debate in one moneth, which was May, 1643, and were then, or soone after, fully passed; one was at the beginning of that moneth, concerning the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*. Among other Bills which had passed both Houses, and wanted onely the Royal Assent, that was one; "That a Synod of Divines should be chosen and established, for the good and right settlement of Religion, with a fit Government for the Church of *England*." This Bill was often tendered to the King to passe, but utterly refused by him: The matter therefore was fully argued, "what in such cases might be done

The Parliament resolves to call an Assembly of Divines for the settlement of Religion.

by Authority of Parliament, when the Kingdome's good is so much concerned, when a King refuseth, and wholly absenteth himselfe from the Parliament." And at last it was brought to this conclusion; "That an Ordinance of Parliament, where the King is so absent, and refusing, is by the Lawes of the Land of as good Authority to binde the people, for the time present, as an Act of Parliament itselfe can be."

It was therefore Voted by the Lords and Commons, That the Act for an Assembly of Divines, to settle Religion, and a forme of Government for the Church of *England*, (which the King had often refused to passe) should forthwith be turned into an Ordinance of Parliament; and that the Assembly thereby called, should debate such things, for the settlement of Religion, as should be propounded to them by both Houses; which, not long after, was accordingly put in execution.

The case seemed to be of the same nature with that of *Scotland* in the year 1639, when the Scottish Covenanters (as is before mentioned in this History) upon the King's delay in calling their National Synod, published a writing to that purpose; "That the power of calling a Synod, in case the Prince be an Enemy to the truth, or negligent in promoting the Church's good, is in the Church itselfe."

They resolve to
make a new Great
Seal.

In the same moneth, and within few daies after, another businesse of great consequence, was, by the Lords and Commons, taken into consideration, which was the making of a new Great Seale, to supply the place of that which had been carried-away from the Parliament, as before is mentioned. This businesse had been fully debated in the House of Commons, and the Moneth following, at a Conference between both Houses, the Commons declared to the Lords what great prejudice the Parliament and whole Kingdome suffered by the absence of the Great Seale; and thereupon desired their speedy compliance in Votes for the making of a new one.

The matter was debated in the House of Peeres, put to Votes, and carried for the negative. The onely reason which they alledged against the making of a new Seale, was this, That they have hitherto dispatched all businesse, since the absence of the Seale, by vertue of Ordinances of Parliament, and they conceived that the same course might still be kept in what matters soever were necessary to be expedited for the good of the Kingdome, without a Seale. Yet the Lords gave a respective answer, That, if the House of Commons would informe them in any particular cases, wherein the Kingdome's prejudice, by absence of the Great Seale, could not be remedied by vertue of an Ordinance, they would take it into further consideration, to induce compliance accordingly.

Neither was it long before the Lords, upon reasons shewed, concurred with the House of Commons; who about the beginning of *July*, presented to the Lords at a Conference the Votes, which had before passed in their House, together with the reasons for making of a new Great Seale. The Votes were these:

Resolved upon the Question, June 14 & 26.

1. That the Great Seale of England ought to attend the Parliament.

2. That

2. *That the absence of it hath been a cause of great mischief to the Commonwealth.*

3. *That a remedy ought to be provided for these mischiefs.*

4. *That the proper remedy is by making a new Great-Seale.*

The reasons which they gave, were divided into two branches; The first declaring those mischiefs which were occasioned by conveying-away the Great-Seale from the Parliament: The second expressing those inconveniences and mischiefs which proceeded from the want of the Great-Seale with them. The reasons of the first kinde were thus:

1. It was secretly and unlawfully carried-away by the Lord-Keeper, contrary to the duty of his place, who ought, himselfe, to have attended the Parliament, and not to have departed without leave; nor should have been suffered to convey-away the Great-Seale, if his intentions had been discovered.

2. It hath been since taken-away from him, and put into the hands of other dangerous and ill-affected persons; so as the Lord-Keeper, being sent-unto by the Parliament, for the sealing of some Writs, returned answer, That he could not Seale the same, because he had not the Seale in his keeping.

3. Those who have had the managing thereof, have employed it to the hurt and destruction of the Kingdome many waies; as by making new Sheriffes in an unusual and unlawful manner, to be as so many Generals, or Commanders, of Forces raised against the Parliament; by issuing-out illegal Commissions of Array, with other unlawful Commissions for the same purpose; By sending-forth Proclamations against both Houses of Parliament, and several Members thereof, proclaiming them Traytors, against the Priviledges of Parliament, and Laws of the Land; By sealing Commissions of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to proceed against them, and other of His Majestie's good Subjects, adhering to the Parliament, as Traytors; By sending Commissions into *Ireland*, to treat a peace with the Rebels there, contrary to an Act of Parliament made this Session. Besides divers other dangerous Acts passed under it, since it was secretly conveyed-away from the Parliament; whereby great calamities and mischiefs have ensued, to the prejudice of the Kingdome.

Mischiefes arising through want of the Great-Seal.

1. The Termes have been adjourned; the course of Justice obstructed.

2. No original Writs can be sued-forth without going to *Oxford*; which none who holds with the Parliament can do, without peril of his life or Liberty.

3. Proclamations in Parliament cannot issue-out, for bringing-in Delinquents impeached of High Treason, or other crimes; under paine of forfeiting their Estates, according to the ancient course.

4. No

4. No Writs of Errour can be brought in Parliament, to reverse erroneous judgements; nor Writs of Election sued-out for chusing new Members upon death, or removal of any; whereby the number of the Members is much lessened, and the Houses in time like to be dissolved, if speedy supply be not had, contrary to the very Act for continuance of this Parliament.

5. Every other Court of Justice hath a peculiar Seale; and the Parliament, the Supreme Court of *England*, hath no other but the Great-Seale of *England*; which being kept-away from it, hath now no Seale at all; and therefore a new Seale ought to be made.

6. This Seale is *Clavis Regni*, and therefore ought to be resident with the Parliament (which is the representative Body of the whole Kingdome (whilst it continues sitting; the King, as well as the Kingdom, being alwaies legally present in it, during the Session thereof.

The Lords upon these reasons concurred with the House of Commons, and order was given, that a new Great-Seale should forthwith be made; which was accordingly done.

It should seeme the King was not well-pleased with this action of the Parliament, as appeared by what was done at *Oxford* above a year after, when the King assembled together the Lords which were with him, and all those Gentlemen that had been Members of the House of Commons, and had deserted the Parliament at *Westminster*, whom the King called his Parliament at *Oxford*, and propounded many things for them to debate-upon; amongst which it was taken into debate, and resolved upon the Question by that assembly at *Oxford*, That this very action (which they style *counterfeiting* the Great-Seale) was Treason, and the whole Parliament at *Westminster*, *eo facto*, guilty of High-Treason. But this was passed at *Oxford* long-after; of which occasion may be to speak further hereafter.

But, at the time when the Parliament made their new Great-Seale, the people stood at gaze, and many wondered what might the consequence of so unusual a thing. Some, that wholly adhered to the Parliament, and liked well, that an action so convenient and useful to the present state, was done by them, looked notwithstanding upon it, as a sad marke of the Kingdome's distraction, and a signe how irreconcilable the difference might grow between the Parliament and the King's Person. For the legality, or justnesse, of making of the Seale, there was little dispute, or argument, among those who were not disaffected to the Parliament; and though there were no direct, or plaine, precedent for it (for the case of a King's being personally in Warre against the Parliament sitting, had never happened before) yet by comparison with other times, when the necessities of State have required such a thing, it was not onely allowed, but thought requisite. I do not know of any thing written against it by any Lawyers, or other of the King's Party; but Master PRYNNE, a learned Lawyer, and great Antiquary, of the Parliament-side, hath written a copious discourse in justification of it, both by arguments of reason, and many near-resembling precedents of former times) called, *The opening of the Great-*

Great-Seal of England, which is extant to be read by any that would be satisfied, what power from time to time Parliaments have challenged and been allowed, over that Seale, both in making of it in the infancy or absence of Princes, and disposing of it in the dotage or wilfulnesse of others.

But before this businesse was fully concluded, another thing, which seemed as great a signe how wide the rent was growne, fell into debate in the House of Commons: Some time was spent in consultation about it, and much arguing on both sides. The matter was about charging the Queene of High-Treason. To that purpose many Articles of an high nature were drawne-up against her; some of them were, That she had pawned the Crowne-Jewels in *Holland*; That she had raised the Rebellion in *Ireland*; That she had endeavoured to raise a Party in *Scotland* against the Parliament; That she had gone in the head of a Popish Army in *England*: For, not long before this time, the Queene, with Armes and Ammunition from the Low-Countries, and Commanders of Warre from thence, had landed in the North of *England*, been entertained there by the Earle of *Newcastle*, and by him and others, with strong Forces, conveyed to the King at *Oxford*; whereof more particulars will be related hereafter. Divers other Articles were framed against the Queene, upon which, within few Moneths after, she was impeached of High-Treason by the House of Commons, and the Impeachment carried-up by Master PYMME to the House of Peeres, where it stuck for many moneths, but was afterward passed there also; and may be further discoursed-of in the due time.

The House of Commons impeaches the Queen of High Treason.

The Earl of Essex marches with his army to Thame.

It had been likewise before Ordered by both Houses, and was now accordingly put in execution, that the King and Queene's Revenue coming into the Exchequer, should be detained, and employed to the Publike-Service of the Common-wealth; a Committee was chosen of Lords and Commons to dispose of it to the best uses. Divers necessary charges of the State were defrayed by it, and among others (which seemed a kinde of just retalliation) many Members of both Houses of Parliament, whose whole Estates had been seized-upon by the King's Armies, were in some measure relieved at *London*, out of his Revenue, and thereby enabled to subsist in that Publike Service, to which they had been called.

The Parliament takes possession of the King's Revenue to support the Publick expences.

But so exceeding great, by this time, were the charges growne for supportation of so spreading a Warre, that no Contributions nor Taxes whatsoever were thought sufficient, unlesse an Excise were imposed upon Commodities (according to the way of the Netherlanders) such as Beere, Wine, Tobacco, and Meat; which was taken into consideration by both Houses, and this Summer agreed-upon. But the Excise was layed with much gentlenesse, especially upon all Victuals of most common and necessary use, insomuch that it was but little felt either by the rich, or by poore people, and yet amounted monethly to a very considerable summe, though the King's Quarters were then the greatest part of *England*; for the City of *London* was within the Parliament-Quarters.

They also impose an Excise upon Commodities.

To returne againe to the Lord-General ESSEX; His Excellency in *May*, 1643, Of the Earl of Essex having, as aforesaid, received intelligence of the defeat given to the Parliament-

Army

Army in the West, and in what condition things there stood; not being able with his owne Forces to give them reliefe, sent order to Sir WILLIAM WALLER (whose actions shall be anon mentioned in a Series by themselves) to march thither in assistance of the *Devonshire* Forces; and writ his Command to the Governour of *Bristol*, to aid him with such Horse and Foot, as he could conveniently spare out of his Garrison. But things could not at that time be put in execution according to his desires; and before Sir WILLIAM WALLER could get farre into the West, Prince MAURICE, Marquesse HARTFORD, and Sir RALPH HOPTON, were joyned all-together.

The Earl of Essex marches with his army to Thame.

The Lord-General, since it was much desired by the City of *London*, from whom the supplies of money were to come, that he should move with his whole Army towards *Oxford*, was content, though somewhat against his judgement, to proceed in that designe: and marched with the maine Body to *Thame*, to meet there with the Forces sent from the associated Counties to his assistance; from whence (as a person, whose care and Command extended over the whole Kingdome, which was now overspread with a general Warre, and wasted by many Armies at once) he granted a Commission, by direction of the Parliament, to the Lord FIELDING, (now Earle of *Denbigh*, by the late death of his Father, who was slaine in a Skirmish, fighting against the Parliament) to be General of foure Counties, *Shropshire*, *Worcester*, *Stafford*, and *Warwickshire*; to levy Forces there, and conduct them into any part of the Kingdome, against the King's Power, according to directions from the Parliament, or Lord-General. He granted also, at the same time, another Commission in the like manner to Sir THOMAS MIDDLETON, to raise Forces as General of all North *Wales*.

His army suffers greatly by sicknesse and bad weather.

At *Thame* the hand of God, in an extreme increase of sicknesse (hundreds in a day desperately ill) did visite the Lord-General's Army; and by strange unseasonableness of weather, and great raine continuing fourteene daies, the place being upon a flat, moist, and clayie ground, made it impossible for him to advance from that Quarter. In which time the Army was, by sicknesse, and departure of most of the Auxiliary Forces, brought to a number utterly unable to attempt the former designe, without certaine ruine, the situation of *Oxford* upon the River of *Thames* being considered; for the Lord-General conceived it impossible (as himselfe expressed it) to block-up the Towne, without a double number to what he then had.

But, when the raine ceased, and the waters were so much abated as to make the waies passable, intelligence was brought that Prince RUPERT had drawne out his Horse and Foot toward *Buckingham*, with his Cannon also; and had called in the Country, making open profession before them, that he would give Battel to the General: The General marched with some speed toward *Buckingham*, to fight with him. When he came within two miles of that Towne, he found the case farre otherwise, and had intelligence that the Prince had quitted *Buckingham* in a kinde of disorderly manner; that, the night before, he had horsed his Foot, and marched-away, leaving some of his Provisions behinde him.

The Lord-General understood well, that it was not possible for him with his Train

Traine of Artillery and Foot Companies, to follow the Enemy to any advantage. For, if he had been at that time strong enough in Horse, his desire was to have hindered Prince RUPERT from joyning with the Queene, who then was marching with a good Convoy of Horse from the Northerne parts of *England*, (where she had arrived from the *Netherlands*) towards *Oxford*. But, not being able to follow that designe, he desisted from his march to *Buckingham*, sending into the Town a Party of his Horse, to quarter there that night, and to bring-away that Provision which the Enemy had left there. He himselfe, with the rest of his Army, marched to great *Brickhill*, a place most convenient to lye betweene the Enemy and *London*, to defend the Associated Counties, to assist or joyne with the Forces of the Lord GRAY, of *Grooby*, Sir JOHN MELDRUM, and Colonel CROMWELL, to whom he had before written, that, if they could possibly, they should fight with the Queen's Forces, and stop her passage to the King. But it seemed that the businesse could not be done; so that the Queene and Prince RUPERT were suffered to joyne together with all their Forces. Sir WILLIAM WALLER had beene long victorious in the West: yet now the Parliament's fortune, almost in every place, began to faile; and intelligence was brought to the Lord-General, that Sir William, after having almost gained the whole West, and besieging Sir RALPH HOPTON in the *Devizes*, (a Towne of *Devonshire*,) was on a sudden, by unexpected Forces from *Oxford*, under the conduct of the Lord WILMOT, totally routed and forced into *Bristol*. The Lord-General, at the first report of this newes, intended to have marched, himselfe, for relieving of the West; but, upon more particular information, that Sir WILLIAM WALLER's Forces were so farre broken that no assistance at all could be given by them, was inforced to desist from that enterprize. Considering also that his owne Army was shrunk (through the continual increase of violent sicknesse, and from want of pay, clothing, and other necessaries,) to a most unconsiderable number, he resolved to proceed no further, nor to engage that weake Army to the ruine of itselfe, and danger of the Kingdome; especially, since the Forces of the Associated Counties could not with safety be commanded so farre from home. He therefore returned toward *London*, quartering that poore remainder of an Army, at *Kingston-upon-Thames*, and other places near adjacent. In this distressed condition I must a-while leave that great General, until some few weekes time shall recruit his power, and enable him to make that famous and honourable expedition to the reliefe of *Gloucester*.

So great, at this time, were the successes which, in all parts, crowned the King's Armies, that they seemed to possesse an absolute Victory, and the Parliament to be in danger of being quite ruined. On one side, the Lord-General's Army mouldered-away by long sicknesse, and other wants; the long-successeful Sir WILLIAM WALLER, quite broken in the West; and, about the same time, the Lord FAIRFAX, and his Sonne Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, (though reserved by divine Providence for a transcendant height of honour in the future) with almost all the Gentlemen which served the Parliament in those Northerne parts, being defeated by the Earle of

The King's party are now in a very prosperous condition.

The City of Bristol
is taken by Prince
Rupert;

And the City of Exe-
ter by Prince Mau-
rice.

The Earl of New-
castle commands a
powerful Army for
the King in the
North of England.

The Parliament de-
sires the brotherly
assistance of the
Scots.

Great services per-
formed for the Par-
liament by the Lord
Fairfax, and his son
Sir Thomas Fairfax.

Newcastle; and the Lord FAIRFAX, with his Sonne, driven into the Towne of *Hull*: On the other side, the King's Armies were full and strong; Sir RALPH HOPTON, (whom, for his valour and industry, the King had honoured with the Title of a Baron,) was possessed of a gallant Army in the West, and seemed to want nothing so much as a considerable enemy; the King's other Forces were free to chuse what stage they pleased, to act their parts upon. Prince RUPERT was sent to besiege *Bristol*, where Colonel NATHANIEL FIENNES, second Sonne to the Viscount SAY, was Governour; which City, in this low ebbe of the Parliament, could not long hold-out, but was soone delivered to the Prince,—a place of as much concernment as any in the Kingdome. Prince MAURICE, with another Army, came to besiege the City of *Exeter*, into which the Earle of *Stamford* was retreated after his defeat at *Stretton*, in *Cornwall*;—a Nobleman who had long struggled with various successes, and in sharpe encounters, against Sir RALPH HOPTON, and other Commanders of the King's side in those Western Counties, and was ruined at last by the treacherous revolt of some who had taken the same cause with him at the first. This City was, likewise, after a long siege, for want of supplies, delivered, upon Articles, to the Prince that besieged it.

But the great cloud, which not onely overshadowed the Parliament in the North, but threatened to poure-out stormes upon parts farre remote, was the Earle of *Newcastle*, with his mighty Army, who was growne formidable to the Associated Counties, and many other places of the Kingdome. His Army was, at that time, the greatest of any in *England*, which he maintained in brave equipage, by large Contributions levied upon the Country, and seemed of strength enough, not onely to master any opposition of English Forces, but to serve as a Bulwarke against the greatest Army which the Kingdome of *Scotland* could be able to send in aid of the English Parliament. For the Parliament had then sent into *Scotland*, for the brotherly assistance of that Kingdom, and agreed upon entering into a Covenant with them for defence of Religion, and the common Liberty of both Nations.

It pleased the Divine Providence (whose workings are many times beyond the reach of humane conjectures) that this strong Army, before the entrance of the Scots, found an Enemy in *England* worthy of their feare; and were by the personal valour and successfull conduct of Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, (who seemed lately in a low condition,) so farre broken (together with other defeats given to parts of it sent abroad) that the passage for the Scots into *England* was much facilitated; as shall hereafter appeare in a more particular manner.

But it is worthy of consideration (and therefore cannot but deserve a mention) with what unwearied constancy, and wonderous magnanimity, the two FAIRFAXES, Father and Sonne, did labour to preserve those Northerne parts for the Parliament: especially observing what great Enemies they dealt withall; how many unexpected disadvantages happened to them, and accessions of power to their foes at several times; which, though it cannot be here related with full circumstances, or particulars, yet may be touched in a general way.

The

The Lord FAIRFAX, ever since that there was any appearance of this unhappy Warre; and that the King's Commission of Array began to jumble with the Parliament's Ordinance of Militia, had been very industrious in raising strength; and joyned himselfe most unanimously in that cause with Sir JOHN HOTHAM, and his Sonne Master JOHN HOTHAM, a Member also of the House of Commons, and a Gentleman, not onely active but prosperous, whilst he continued faithful to that side which he had chosen. And, after the Warre broke-out into action, the Lord FAIRFAX, either singly by himselfe, or sometimes joyned with Master HOTHAM, had taken and fortified many Townes and Forts for the Parliament, and made many sharpe and fierce encounters against potent Enemies. The Earle of Cumberland, (who was, first, made Lord-Lieutenant of *Yorkshire* by the King,) was not able to suppress them, nor scarce maintaine the Warre against that power which they had raised: Maugre whose Forces, they took and fortified *Cawood-Castle*, and the Towne of *Selby*, in the Moneth of *October*, 1642, and, presently after, surprised the Towne of *Leedes*, where part of the Earle's Forces were quartered, of whom they tooke divers Prisoners, Knights and Gentlemen of good quality, one of which was Sir GEORGE DETHERICK, together with his whole Troope.

The Earle of *Cumberland* himselfe, within few daies after, was driven into the City of *Yorke*, and there besieged, and summoned by the Lord FAIRFAX and Master HOTHAM; which happened about the same time that the famous Battel between the King and the Lord-General *Essex*, was fought at *Keynton*.

But the Earle of *Newcastle* with a greater force, entered into *Yorke*, whilst the Lord FAIRFAX and Captaine HOTHAM, lay not farre-off; who, notwithstanding his great strength when he marched out of *Yorke*, was encountered by them at *Tadcaster*, upon the 7th of *December*, the Fight, or several Skirmishes, continuing about five houres; in which the Parliament-Forces did so well take their advantages, that they slew (as was reported to the Parliament) 200 of the Earle's men, with the losse of eight Souldiers of their owne, of whom Captaine LISTER was one, whose death was much lamented in the Country, being esteemed a brave and religious man. After several Skirmishes, the Parliament-Army had the fortune to make a faire retreat to *Cawood-Castle* and *Selby*, and leave all to the Earle, whose Forces were reported to be about eight thousand Horse and Foot, the Lord FAIRFAX and Captaine HOTHAM having not above 2,100 Foot, and seven Troops of Horse; their number would have been greater, if Sir HUGH CHOLMELY and Colonel BAINTON, with their Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horse (who were expected) had accordingly come-in to them.

The Earle of *Newcastle* was now growne, not only master of the field there, but formidable to all the adjacent Counties; who did therefore implore aid from the Parliament. The Parliament, upon that occasion, hastened the Association of those Counties which lay neerer to them, that they might be the more able to supply their remoter friends.

The King's side received then an addition of strength in the North, by the landing

A fight at Tadcaster,
December 7, 1642.

Colonel Goring arrives at Newcastle with succours for the King.

The Earl of Newcastle takes the town of Leeds.

But is successfully resisted by Lord Fairfax's forces in an attempt upon Bradford.

landing of Colonel GORING at *Newcastle*, with 200 Commanders from *Holland*, and other Provisions for the Warre.

The Earle of *Newcastle* marching from *Tadcaster*, surprised *Leedes*, in which Towne he tooke many Gentlemen Prisoners, and forced them to ransom themselves at high rates: whereby he was further enabled to pay his great Army. Then also he gave Commissions to Papists in that Country to arme themselves in the King's Service, which he justified by writings published upon that occasion; and at the same time proclaimed the Lord FAIRFAX a Traytor.

The Lord FAIRFAX, notwithstanding, marched with such Forces as he had gotten together, and proved succesful in divers attempts, against several parts of the Earle of *Newcastle's* Forces, one of them happening at *Sherburne*, between *Tadcaster* and *Doncaster*, and another at *Bradford*, against a party of the Earle of *Newcastle's* Army, under the conduct of Colonel GORING, Colonel EVERS, Sir WILLIAM SAVILE, and Sir JOHN GOTHERICK, who came with a good strength of Horse and Dragoneers to surprize on a sudden that Towne of *Bradford*; but were by Forces, timely sent to the reliefe of it, forced to retire with some losse; which, though it were not a Victory against Colonel GORING and the rest, may, notwithstanding, be termed a succesful Action, in being able to repel an Enemy too potent for them in all probability.

CHAP. IV.

*Some Actions of Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX in the North. The
Queene lands in England. The revolt of Sir HUGH
CHOLMELY, and the two HOTHAMS. The state of this
Warre in the Westerne parts. The condition of the
Associated Counties. A short relation of Sir WILLIAM
WALLER'S Actions; of Colonel CROMWELL, Sir WIL-
LIAM BRERETON, and Sir JOHN GELL.*

GREAT were the achievements of Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX in that moneth of Great and active ser-
January, and the following *February*; for no season of the yeare, nor stormes of vices of Sir Thomas
winter, could quench the rage of this Civil Fire. Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX on the Fairfax to the Par-
23d of *January*, 1642, marched from *Bradford* (six miles distant from *Leedes*) liament, in January
with six Troops of Horse, and three Companies of Dragoones, under the command and February, 1642-
of Sir HENRY FOULIS, Baronet, his Lieutenant-General of his Horse, and neere s.
1000 Musqueteers, with 2000 Clubmen, under the Command of Sir WILLIAM
FAIRFAX, Colonel, and Lieutenant-General of the Foot. When Sir THOMAS ap- He takes the town
proached the Town of *Leeds*, he dispatched a Trumpeter to Sir WILLIAM SAVILE, of Leeds in York-
Commander in chiefe there, under the Earle of *Newcastle*, requiring the Towne shire
to be delivered to him for the King and Parliament. But receiving a resolute, and
seeming-scorneful, answer from Sir WILLIAM SAVILE, he drew neerer, and pre-
pared to make an Assault, though there were great strength in the Towne, namely,
1500 Foot, and 500 Horse and Dragoones, with two Brasse Sakers. Sir THOMAS
FAIRFAX drew out five Companies of his most expert Souldiers, whom he dis-
posed of at a fit side of the Town, under the command of Major FORBES, Captaines
BRIGGS, LEE, FRANKE, and PALMER. Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX, at the head of
his Regiment, and in the face of the Enemy, stormed the Town with great skill and
courage, whilst Major FORBES did the like in his place, and Sir THOMAS him-
selfe, everywhere encouraging, and teaching valour by his owne example, brought-
on

on his men ; so that after two houres of hot fight, though the besieged behaved themselves well, the Towne was entered by Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX, and Sir HENRY EOWLES, on one side, and Major FORBES, with his fellow-Captaines, on the other. They tooke within the Towne their two Brasse Sakers, with good store of Armes and Ammunition, foure Colours, and 500 Prisoners; among whom were six Commanders: The Common Souldiers, upon taking of an Oath, never to fight in this cause against the King and Parliament, were set at liberty, and suffered to depart, but without their Arms. There were slaine about forty men, of which number the besieged lost the greater halfe. Serjeant-Major BEAMONT, endeavouring in the flight to save his life, by crossing the River, so lost it, being drowned therein; and Sir WILLIAM SAVILE himselfe, crossing in flight the same River, hardly escaped the same fate. Publike thanksgiving to Almighty God was given at *London* for this Victory.

And Wakefield.

Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX with his victorious Forces, immediately marched to another Quarter of the Earle of *Newcastle's* Army at *Wakefield*, from whence the chiefe Commander, Sir GEORGE WENTWORTH, fled, and left it to him. Not long after, he marched to *Tadcaster*; at whose approach the Earle's Forces, though a considerable number, fled-away, and forsooke their Workes.

And Tadcaster.

General King comes from Holland with great store of arms for the King's service. And likewise the Queen, in February, 1642-3.

From that time scarce any one fortnight of all the following Spring, passed without some remarkable addition of strength to the King's side, in those Northerne parts. In *February* General KING, a Scottish Commander, of great experience in Military affaires, came out of *Holland*, landed at *Newcastle*, joyned himselfe with the Earle of *Newcastle*, and passed to *Yorke* with 6000 Armes. In the same Moneth also the Queene, landing from *Holland*, neere to *Sunderland*; with great Provision of Armes and Ammunition, and many Commanders of note in her Retinew, was convoyed by the Earle of *Newcastle* to the City of *Yorke*.

The Earl of Montrose comes-over to the King.

The Earle of *Montrose* about the same time, a young Lord of great esteeme in *Scotland*, who, before, in the Scottish Warre (as is there mentioned) had shewed himselfe one of the most active and zealous Covenanters of that Nation, forsook his Party there, and, with the Lord OGLESBY, fled out of *Scotland* with 120 Horse, to the Queene at *Yorke*. Upon which both those Lords were proclaimed at *Edenburgh* Traytors to their King and Country, for that, contrary to their Covenant, they stole out of *Scotland*, to assist the Popish Army, (for so they called that of the Earle of *Newcastle*) against the Parliament of *England*.

And Sir Hugh Cholmely.

Another great wound to the Parliament, not long after, was the revolt of Sir HUGH CHOLMELY, a Member of the House of Commons, and one that had carried a good esteeme among them, who had before (as is already mentioned) been employed by the Parliament, as a Commissioner in the North, together with the Lord FAIRFAX, and Sir PHILIP STARLETON; and was at this time highly entrusted by them; for he was Governour of *Scarborough*, a place of great importance. He falsely betrayed his Trust, and forsooke the Cause he had undertaken, going to the Queene with 300 men. Upon which he was impeached of High Treason by the Parliament; but it was not his fortune to suffer for that offence, as others

others did, who about the same time failed in their Trusts. The Towne of *Scarborough* was left in possession of a Parliament-Captaine, who was usually called *Browne Bushell*, a man that some thought would have kept it to the Parliament's use; but he likewise revolted, and delivered it to their Enemies.

Captain Brown Bushell revolts from the Parliament, and surrenders Scarborough to the King's party.

Upon the landing of General KING, and the Queene presently after, a suspicion began to arise, by some circumstances, that the two unfortunate HOTHAMS, the father and the sonne, were false to the Parliament. Which by the strict observation of some vigilant men on that side, was further discovered, and began at last to be discoursed-of, with as little beliefe for a long time, as CASSANDRAE'S Prophecies; and, when it came more plainly to appeare, with as much, not onely wonder, but sorrow of honest men, that so much unconstancy should be found. The particulars of this discovery, and how much the Parliament, if it had not been timely prevented, would have suffered by it, there will be time hereafter to discourse of more at large. But they were both accused to the Parliament, seized-upon at Hull, and sent-up to London, where they long remained Prisoners in the Tower, before the time of their Tryal and Execution.

Sir John Hotham and his son design to revolt from the Parliament, but are discovered and seized-upon at Hull, and sent-up prisoners to London.

Not all these disadvantages, by the growth of Enemies, and revolt of friends, could dishearten the Lord FAIRFAX and his Sonne, who still persisted with great courage, and raising the Clubmen of the Country, to piece-up those small Forces which remained with them, were able for a while to make considerable resistance, and performe divers services against some parts of the Earle of Newcastle's vast Army. But one Victory was gained by Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX at *Wakefield*, which may be termed rather miraculous than strange; though I shall relate nothing save knowne truth:—such a Victory, against so much odds, and so many disadvantages, as may serve to teach how much successe may possibly crowne bold attempts, and justifie that old saying, *Audaces fortuna juvat*.

The Lord FAIRFAX, General of the Parliament's Forces in the North, on the 20th of May, gave Order for a Party to be drawne-out from the Garrisons of *Leedes*, *Bradford*, *Halifax*, and *Howley*: They marched, 1000 Foot, three Companies of Dragoneers, and eight Troops of Horse; Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX commanded in Chiefe; the Foot were commanded by Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX, and Serjeant Major-General GIFFORD; the Horse divided into two Bodies, foure Troops whereof were commanded by Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX himselfe, the other foure by Sir HENRY FOWLIS. From *Howley*, which was their rendezvouze, they marched away, and by foure a clock in the morning came before *Wakefield*; Those of the Towne were ready for them, and sent-out some of their Horse to encounter with theirs, and Musqueteers to line some hedges, even to the very Towne. There were in *Wakefield* 3000 Foot, and seven Troops of Horse, besides Colonel LAMP-
TON's Regiment, which came into the Towne after that the Parliament's Forces entered into it. But at the first encounter the Parliament's Forces beat-back their Enemy's Horse; and their Foot also drove those Musqueteers from the hedges, even into the Towne, which they assaulted in two places, called *Wrengate*, and *Northgate*, and after an houre and an halfe's fighting, recovered one of their Enemy's Peeces,

Sir Thomas Fairfax gains a glorious victory at Wakefield, May 20, 1643.

Pieces, and turned it upon them; and withal entred the Town in both places at the same time. When the Baracadoes were opened, Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX with the Horse also fell into the Towne and cleared the street, and there was a cruel and fierce encounter; in which place Colonel GORING was taken prisoner by Lieutenant MATTHEW ALURED, (brother to Captaine JOHN ALURED, a Member of the House of Commons; yet in the Market-place there still remained three Troops of Horse and Colonel LAMPTON's Regiment; to whom Major-General GIFFORD sent a Trumpet, with proffer of Quarter, if they would lay-down their Arms. To which when they returned a scornful Answer, he fired a Peece of their owne Ordnance upon them, and the Horse also falling-in with great fury, soone beat them out of the Towne, and tooke all their Officers Prisoners. They tooke, withal, 27 Colours of Foot, three Cornets of Horse, and about 1500 Common Souldiers. The King's troops were likewise forced, when they fled, to leave behind them foure Peeces of Ordnance, with Ammunition, which the Parliament-Forces carried away with them. For, when they had thus taken the Towne, they found their number and strength too weak to keepe it and their Prisoners too. And therefore they quitted the place and marched-away with this brave booty.

This great Victory at *Wakefield*, seemed (according to the common saying) like a lightening before death; for not long after, these Forces were quite broken by the Earle of *Newcastle*, whose greatnesse overspread those Countries, and was never encountered by any Enemy, but in parts of his Army. He had managed the whole businesse, and attained his height of power, by great skill and policy; and now, having no neere Enemy in the field, was gone to besiege the Lord FAIRFAX in *Hull*, which was by some talked-of as an errour in him, no lesse than besieging *Gloucester*, soone after, by the King, was censured.

State of the West of
England.

Such a continual and sad Warre had the Northerne parts been forced to endure all the winter. Nor was it their case alone; scarce any County of *England* was free from it. The whole West, consisting of so many rich and flourishing Shires, had been as sad a stage of civil Tragedies. Many Armies and small Parties of either side (too many for one History to describe at large, or do particular justice to the actions of every Gentleman) had been engaged, without any intermission, in those parts.

On the King's side
Sir Ralph Hopton.

Of all Commanders there, that sided with the King against the Parliament, Sir RALPH HOPTON, by his unwearied industry, and great reputation among the people, had raised himselfe to the most considerable height, and continued the longest a Leader of Armies, as the sequel of the Story will hereafter declare: But his successes, through the whole course of his Actions, were very various, and many ebbs and flowes were in his fortune.

And the Marquis of
Hartford.

The Marquesse HARTFORD, though farre higher in Dignity, and greater by power of his large Commission from the King (of which before is spoken) was not able to act so largely in the field as Sir RALPH did, though he were seldom idle, but busie about Townes, and in small Parties. They were both opposed in their beginnings, not so much by any Nobleman, or great Commander, employed by the Parliament's

Parliament's Commissions, as by private Gentlemen of those Counties; the chiefe of which were Sir FRANCIS POPHAM and his Sons, Master STRODE, (a Deputy-Lieutenant there,) with others before-named, besides plaine Freeholders of the Country, who seemed to understand their owne Liberties and the Interest which they had in the Common-wealth. Until, at the last, the Earle of *Stamford*, a stout Gentleman, (who had beene before employed about *Leicester*, against Master HASTINGS, with a Commission from the Parliament, as General of some Counties) was sent into the West.

For the Parliament,
Sir Francis Popham
and his Sons, Mr.
Strode, and the Earl
of Stamford.

The Earle of *Stamford* was, by the Parliament, made Lord-General of all *South-Wales*, and the foure next adjacent Counties, to wit, *Glocester*, *Worcester*, *Hereford*, and *Cheshire*; with power to raise Forces in all those Counties, to appoint Officers and Commanders over them, to traine and exercise the men, and to fight with all that should oppose him. The Lord GRAY, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of *Stamford*, was appointed to succeed his Father, in his former Charge, and made Lord-Lieutenant of five Counties, *Leicester*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Rutland*, and *Lincolne*, to continue the Warre against Master HASTINGS, the Earle of *Chesterfield*, and others, who opposed the Parliament in those parts.

The Earle of *Stamford*, at his first coming into the West, was successful against Sir RALPH HOPTON, whom he raised from the siege of Plymouth; but Sir RALPH HOPTON, not long after, by a stratagem of feigning flight, entrapped many of the Earle's men, conducted by a Lieutenant of his, and gave an overthrow to the Parliament-Forces; betwixt whom, and the Earle of *Stamford*, upon the fifteenth of *March*, 1642, a Truce was made for twenty daies. The Earle, after the expiration of that Truce, againe taking the field, with a competent Army, was a while prosperous against Sir RALPH HOPTON; but, not long after, was overthrown in consequence of the revolt of young CHUDLEY, Sonne to Sir JOHN CHUDLEY, by whose assistance, on some former occasions, those Parliament-Forces had been victorious. The Earle of *Stamford* was then enforced to betake himselfe to the City of *Exeter*, whither HOPTON and CHUDLEY followed him, to lay siege to the place. But Prince MAURICE was soon after sent thither to command in chiefe; to whom at last (as is before expressed) it was, upon faire articles, surrendered by the Earle of *Stamford*.

Notwithstanding so many misfortunes, as had then fallen upon the Parliament-side; about the end of *May*, 1643, they did not despaire of regaining the whole West, by the active valour of Sir WILLIAM WALLER, who, about that time, was very prosperous in those Counties, and in some Parts of the Principality of *Wales*, and whose name was growne to be a great terrour to his Enemies. Of his actions, and by what degrees he grew into esteeme and strength, it will not be amisse to relate some particulars in a continued series, considering how great a General he became afterwards in these Warres, and in what a low Command he began. He was a Gentleman of faire experience in Military affaires by former travels, and services abroad; of good judgement, and great industry; of which he gave many testimonies to the Kingdome.

Sir WILLIAM WALLER, about the time of the Battel of *Keynton*, received a commission to be Colonel of Horse; and, moving that winter following as occasions of

Of Sir William
Waller.

the present Warre required, performed many exploits; he tooke in *Farnham* Castle, and passed Southward, after that *Portsmouth*, by his assistance, had been taken from Colonel GORING, and some other quick services at *Winchester*, and in the Country thereabouts, which he had performed, joyning himselfe with Colonel BROWN, a Citizen of *London* (who tooke-up Armes at the beginning of this Civil Warre, and continued till the very end, in high Commands, and reputation as high; of whose actions, more must be delivered in the sequel of this History). Colonel HURREY, and some others passing into the Western part of *Sussex*, he layed siege to the City of *Chichester*; in which City many Gentlemen of ranke and quality had fortified themselves, and gathered together a considerable quantity of Armes and Ammunition for service of the King against the Parliament.

He takes Chichester,
December, 23, 1642.

About the middle of *December*, appearing before *Chichester*, he was there met by some Forces, Troops of Horse and Dragoniers, that came to his assistance from *Kent* and *Sussex*, under the conduct of Colonel MORLEY, a Member of the House of Commons, (a Gentleman of good ranke in *Sussex* and great activity in the Parliament-Service,) and Sir MICHAEL LEIVESEY, a Kentish Knight. The Battery was placed by Sir WILLIAM, at fit places, and all things ordered with great skill; but, before the battery began, to save effusion of blood, Sir WILLIAM, by the consent of all his Officers, summoned the Town by a Trumpet, with such Conditions offered as were judged too high by the besieged, and therefore at first not accepted-of; yet after eight daies it was rendered to him upon no other Conditions than onely Quarter and faire usage. The prisoners of note, which were taken there were immediately sent toward *London* to the Parliament, who were, Sir EDWARD FORD, High Sheriff of *Sussex*, Sir JOHN MORLEY, Colonel SHELLEY, Master LEAUKNER, Colonel LINDSEY, Lieutenant-Colonel PORTER, Major DAWSON, and Major GORDON, with Doctor KING, then Bishop of *Chichester*, and many other Officers and Commanders in Armes, to the number of 60, about 400 Dragoniers, and almost as many Foot-Souldiers. In the *March* following, his employment was in the Western parts of *England*, where he raised Forces. The next in command under him, who continued with him in almost all his actions, was Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, another Member of the House of Commons, serving as Knight for *Leicestershire*, a man that, in all Battells and Skirmishes, gave great proofs of his prowess and personal valour. Sir WILLIAM WALLER having now raised a competent force, and marching out of *Bristol* on the nineteenth of *March*, within two daies after, approached *Malmesbury*. Colonel HERBERT LUNSFORD, a stout Gentleman, and a good Souldier, (Brother to Sir THOMAS LUNSFORD, that was taken at *Keynton-Battel*,) was then Governour of *Malmesbury*; who, upon the first approach, sent-out seven Troops of Horse, to begin an encounter with him; but they were no waies able to endure the force of those Horse which Sir WILLIAM had drawne-out against them, but fled immediately, some of them back into the Towne; many of them, conceiving that there was small safety in the Towne for them, fled quite away.

And Malmesbury,
March 23, 1642-3.

Sir WILLIAM assaulted the Towne the same day; but, not prevailing then, he lodged

lodged there all night, preparing the next morning for another, and more fierce, assault. But the besieged, conceiving the place untenable, desired a Parley, and yeelded upon Quarter. He tooke at *Malmesbury* one Peece of Ordnance, about three hundred Prisoners, whereof Colonel LUNSFORD and Colonel COOKE were the chiefe, with almost twenty Officers, great and small: good store of rich prize and Ammunition; the Conquest was bloodlesse, and very few slaine on either side.

Within few daies after he obtained a very considerable Victory neere to *Gloucester* against the Lord HERBERT of *Ragland*, Sonne to the Earle of *Worcester*, who with a great Army of Welchmen lay against that Towne; which, for the manner of it, in briefe, was thus: Sir WILLIAM with his Forces, coming neere to *Cirencester*, made shew (the better to conceale his purpose) as if he intended to fall upon that Towne; but his designe was for *Gloucester*, and he had taken such provident care, that the men in *Gloucester* had notice of this purpose; and that with the help of his flat-bottomed Barges, which thence were brought to him in the nature of Waggon (useful both by land and water) he would transport his Forces over the River *Severne*, beyond *Gloucester*, and fall upon the Reare of the Lord HERBERT's Welch Forces, when he was least feared or expected; withal, he gave notice to the *Gloucester* Forces to fall upon the Front of that Army, as he would upon their Reare. The Plot, as it was wisely contrived, was succesfull in the event, and tooke so good effect for him, that, when the Lord HERBERT was in skirmish with the Forces of *Gloucester*, and confident to cut them all off, being very few in comparison of his owne; Sir WILLIAM with his Army, neere *Highnam*, their Quarter, fell suddenly upon the Reare of the Lord HERBERT's men, with such fury, that they were all routed, and would gladly have fled, if they had knowne any way to escape. There were slaine of that Welch Army about 500 upon the place, neere a thousand taken Prisoners, with all their Arms and Ammunition, and the rest wholly dispersed and scattered: the Lord HERBERT himselfe escaped by flight, and got to *Oxford*.

Sir WILLIAM WALLER, after this great Victory, marched from thence to *Tewkesbury*; at whose approach, those of the King's Souldiers, that were Garrisoned there, fled-away, and left it to him; from whence marching further into the Country, he surprized divers straggling Troopers of the other side, with some Armes, Pistols, and Carbines, together with sixteene thousand pounds in Money, and carried-away his booty to *Gloucester*.

Within as short a distance of time, he tooke *Chepstow* in *Monmouthshire*, and seized upon divers of those that were Conspirators for the betraying of *Bristol* (of which Treason I have spoken before) and who, upon the discovery of it, had fled from thence. At that place he tooke a Ship called the *Dragon* of *Bristol*, and great store of wealth in her, belonging to those who were his Enemies; which he seized, as a just booty, and much to his advantage.

From *Chepstow* he marched with a swift pace to *Monmouth*; the Towne, upon composition, was soone rendered to him; from whence, after he had put a Garrison into

He then marches to
Bath with his army,
and gains many ad-
vantages over the
King's troops.

And defeats the
King's troops under
Lord Herbert near
Gloucester.

He then takes
Tewkesbury;

He then takes
Tewkesbury;

And Chepstow;

And Monmouth,
and raises fresh
forces for the
Parliament.

into it, he marched to *Uske*, and summoned the Country; where divers Forces came-in to him; among others Sir WILLIAM MORGAN's Sonne, of *Tredegan*, brought him five hundred armed men, and some Money; where also Master HERBERT of *Colebrooke* raised a thousand men, and seized on *Abergaine* for the Parliament.

And returns to
Gloucester.

Sir WILLIAM WALLER in this high career of his fortune, was commanded-back from the West by the Lord-General *Essex*, to come to the chiefe Army: Which being soone understood among those of the King's Army, he was way-layed by Prince MAURICE. The intention of Sir WILLIAM WALLER was to get to *Gloucester* with his Forces; having therefore sent-away his Ordnance and Baggage, with his Foot to guard it over *Wye* to *Aust*; himselfe with his Horse and Dragoones, resolved to fall upon Prince MAURICE's Army, and force a passage thorow; which he did with great successe, and small losse; and, as he marched afterward, cut-down all the Bridges behinde him; whereby he hindered Prince MAURICE from marching after him. This course, if the Prince had taken before him, Sir WILLIAM WALLER might have been kept in *Wales* to his great disadvantage. But, by that meanes of cutting-down the Bridges, Prince MAURICE's pursuit being hindered, Sir WILLIAM WALLER, by assistance of the Governour MASSEY, regained many Townes possessed by the King's Forces, especially *Tewkesbury*, Sir MATTHEW CAREW being fled from thence. But there he took many Prisoners, much Armes and Riches; he placed a Garrison there; and from thence, according to his first designe, arrived safe at the City of *Gloucester*.

He then takes Here-
ford, and makes
many persons of
quality there his
prisoners.

Sir WILLIAM WALLER continued not long at *Gloucester*, but (being now dispensed-with for returning to the Lord-General) according to his usual celerity, he flew to *Hereford*, before any feare, or expectation, of his coming. He tooke that Towne upon Quarter, and in it many Prisoners of great ranke and quality, among whom was the Lord SCUDMORE, with five revolted Members of the House of Commons, viz. The Lord SCUDMORE's Sonne, Colonel HERBERT PRICE, Sir RICHARD CAVE, Lieutenant-Colonel CONISBY, Master CONISBY, and besides them, Sir WALTER PYE, Sir WILLIAM CROFTS, Lieutenant-Colonel THOMAS PRICE, Serjeant-Major MINTRIDGE, Sir SAMUEL AMBY, Serjeant-Major DALTON, Captaine SOMERSET, Captaine SCLATER, Doctor ROGERS, Doctor GOODWIN, Doctor EVANS, and divers others; who were all carried-away to *Gloucester*.

And soon after takes
Leinster.

Within three daies after that service, he surprised the Towne of *Leinster* in that County, twelve miles distant from *Hereford*, where he tooke good prize, disarmed many of the King's Party there, and placed a Garrison in the Towne.

It was feared at that time by those of the King's side, that Sir WILLIAM WALLER, going-on in so prosperous a way, might, perchance, surprize *Worcester* and *Ludlow*. To prevent therefore his further proceedings, Prince MAURICE, with a good strength of Horse, was sent from *Oxford*, with whom also the Marquesse of *Hartford* was joyned, to fall upon him. But Sir WILLIAM, scowring the Countries thereabouts with his active Forces, and having disarmed many of the other side in *Wilts* and *Somersetshire*, came to *Bath* with an Army much encreased of late both in

in number and reputation ; at which place Sir EDWARD HUNGERFORD, Sir JOHN HORNER, and Master STRODE, joyned with him to oppose Prince MAURICE and the Marquesse *Hartford*. About that part of the Country were frequent and fierce encounters, which lasted for a long time, and many retreats with great skill and courage were made on both sides, when night parted the fury of their fights. But Sir WILLIAM WALLER proved for the most part victorious (whose particular actions there deserve a more peculiar relation) and at last became Master of the field, chasing his Enemies so farre as a Towne called the *Devizes*, to which place he followed and besieged them. The losses in all those several encounters were very uncertaine, and variously reported, by reason that both Parties had many times liberty to bury their dead ; but on the Parliament-side were lost one Major, one Lieutenant, and two Cornets. Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG was there wounded ; but the danger was not very great. On the other side, besides the uncertaine number of Common Souldiers, some of quality were slaine, among whom was Sir BEVILE GREENVILE, Lieutenant-Colonel WARD, Major LOWRE, with five or six Captains. Sir RALPH HOPTON, the Earle of *Carnarvan*, and the Lord MOHUN, were reported to be wounded.

Sir RALPH HOPTON was besieged in the *Devizes* by Sir WILLIAM WALLER, and began to treat about the surrender of it ; for Prince MAURICE and the Marquesse of *Hartford* were retired toward *Oxford*, where suddenly the fortune of warre changed, and Sir WILLIAM WALLER's Army, by an unexpected party of fresh Forces, which came from *Oxford* (for the Lord-General ESSEX's Army was so much wasted by sicknesse, and other distresses, that he could not at all straiten *Oxford*, nor hinder any Forces from issuing thence) under the conduct of the Lord WILMOT, was utterly defeated, scattered, and ruined, as was before mentioned. He himselfe, for security at the present, retired into the City of *Bristol* ; from which, within a few daies, he rode, accompanied with some Gentlemen, toward *London*, and was there received with great affection, and many promises of their best endeavour to set him forth with another Army.

The King's Forces seemed now to have done the greatest part of their worke, being in a manner sole Masters of the West, and most Northerne Counties of *England*, and having ruined the Lord FAIRFAX and Sir WILLIAM WALLER's Armies. Yet in all Counties the fortune was not alike ; in many places those Gentlemen which adhered to the Parliament were able, not onely to guard themselves, but to get ground upon their enemies, though those actions were for the most part performed in skirmishes betweene small parties, in preserving their owne strengths, or taking Towns from the other side, such as had been in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, *Staffordshire*, *Derby*, *Leicester*, *Nottingham*, and other places, which I shall briefly touch anon, after I have related in how contrary a condition to the North and West, (which had beene the seat of a fierce warre, and a prey to the greatest and most potent Armies of either side ;) and how much happier than those other Counties, (which had been alwayes molested with Alarms and Skirmishes, and suffered by pillaging on both Parties ;) the Easterne Counties of *England* had remained

He then marches to Bath with his army, and gains many advantages over the King's troops.

But at last is defeated by a fresh army sent against him from Oxford under the command of the Lord Wilmot.

Of the quiet and happy state of the Eastern Counties of England at this time.

remained all the foregoing Winter, and continued so during the whole progresse of this bloody Warre; which were the Counties of *Suffolke, Norfolke, Cambridge, Essex, Hartford, Huntingdon, &c.* who never were made the seat of any part of this civil Warre. These parts of the Kingdome had joyned themselves in an Association by Authority of Parliament, with power to defend each other, and levy Forces against all enemies to that cause; this great happinesse of peace and quiet that they enjoyed, may be supposed to flow from the unanimity of their affections, which carried them all the same way; and true it is, that there was as much unanimity of opinion and affection in those Counties among the people in general, as was to be found in any part of *England*; but it was especially among the common people: for a great and considerable number of the Gentry, and those of highest ranke among them, were disaffected to the Parliament, and were not sparing in their utmost endeavours to promote the King's Cause, and assist his Force against it; which might have throwne those Countries (if not wholly carried them to the other side) into as much distraction, and sad calamity, as any other part of the Land had felt; nor could that Association have been possibly made, if those Gentlemen had not been curbed and suppressed by that timely care which the Parliament tooke, and more particularly by the successeful services of one Gentleman, Master OLIVER CROMWELL, of *Huntington*, a Member of the House of Commons; whose wisdom, valour, and vigilancy, was no lesse available in this important businesse, than remarkable afterwards in the highest services, and greatest battels, of the whole Warre. Of this man's Actions (because it pleased God to raise him afterward into the greatest commands, and prosper in so high a measure all his undertakings, that he became within few yeares one of the chiefe props, on which the Parliament leaned, and greatest scourges of the other side) let it not seeme amisse if I discourse in a continued Series, during those Moneths that intervened between the Battel of *Keynton* and that low ebbe of the Parliament which preceeded the siege of *Gloucester*.

Of Oliver Cromwell.

His great services to the Parliament, in the year 1642.

The first Action that CROMWELL undertooke, was to secure the Towne of *Cambridge* for the Parliament, about the middle of January. Universities were, of all places, most apt to adhere to the King's Party, esteeming Parliaments, and especially this Parliament, to be the greatest depressors of that Ecclesiastical Dignity, in hope of which they are there nurtured.

Upon which reason they were packing-up a large quantity of the Plate that belonged to all the Colledges, to send it away to the King; which would have made a considerable summe. This was foreseene by CROMWELL; who, by a Commission from the Parliament and Lord-General *Essex*, had raised a Troope of Horse, and came-downe into that Country, with authority to raise more Forces, as occasion served; he came to *Cambridge* soone enough to seize upon that plate, which was going to *Oxford*; but, before his arrival there, he performed, by the way, another service: Sir THOMAS CONESBY, lately made High-Sheriffe of *Hartfordshire*, had received a Proclamation from the King, to proclaime the Earl of *Essex*, and all his adherents, Traytors; and was then at *St. Albans*, upon a Market-day, proclaiming

claiming of the same; when CROMWELL, with his Troope, seized-upon him, and sent him up to the Parliament.

Not long after this service, he collected in convenient time the Forces of that County, and invited the neighbour Counties of *Essex*, *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke*, to their assistance, against an invasion of the Lord CAPEL, who should have been seconded by Prince RUPERT also, to invade that place, and hinder the Association; which would have been done, if that timely prevention had not been used. This made them forbear their intended invasion, and retire to other parts.

About the beginning of March CROMWELL, having raised a Regiment of Horse, consisting of 1000 men, marched into *Suffolke* with much celerity, upon intelligence of a great and considerable confederacy held among those Gentlemen which adhered to the King's Party, at a Towne in that County called *Lowerstost*, a place of great consequence: He surprized them unawares, gained the Towne with small difficulty, and no shot at all. In which he tooke Prisoners, Sir THOMAS BARKER, and his Brother Sir JOHN PETTUS, Master THOMAS KNEVET, two of the CATLINES, Captaine HAMMOND, Master COREY, Master TURRILL, Master PRESTON, and about 20 others of quality and substance. In that Towne he gained good store of Ammunition, Saddles, Pistols, Powder, Shot, and several Engines for Warre, enough to have served a considerable Force. And certaine it was, that, if CROMWELL had not surprized them in that nick of time, it had proved a matter of great danger to the County; for, within one day after, as many more Knights and Gentlemen, that were listed before, would have met at the same place. This was a timely service to the Parliament, and a great discouragement to all that Party in *Suffolke* and *Norfolke*, which adhered to the King's side.

But, when the Spring grew further on, and it was seasonable to make longer Marches, about the beginning of *April*, CROMWELL, having well-settled the businesses of those Associated Counties, for the Parliament's use, and not confining his care and services within those parts onely, raised a greater Force, of such as came freely and heartily in to join them; with whom he marched along towards *Lincolneshire*, with purpose to assist those of his side, that warred against *Newarke*. *Newarke* was one of the strongest Garrisons, which was then held on the King's side, replenished with many Gentlemen of *Lincolneshire*, and other Shires, and some expert Souldiers, who enforced large Contributions from the adjacent Country, and made rodes often times even to the Walls of *Lincolne*. Colonel CROMWELL, in his March thither, as he passed thorow the County of *Huntingdon*, disarmed many that were ill-affected to the Parliament, and increased by that meanes his strength so farre, that he was growne above two thousand strong: and before he came to *Newarke*, receiving an addition of Horse from Captaine HOTHAM, he also joyned with some Forces of *Lincolneshire*. At his first approach neere to *Newarke*, it was his fortune to performe a good service for his side; for, when Captaine WRAY, with his *Lincolneshire* Horse, had too rashly quartered within a little of that Town, he was set-upon in the night-time by a strong Party from the Towne; where, after some little bickering, not being able to resist so great a number, he was

was surprized with his whole Troope; but the Alarum coming to CROMWELL, he advanced, and at ten o'clock at night fell upon the Newarkers, rescued Captaine WRAY's Troope, and tooke three Troops of theirs, with the slaughter of many of them.

After this, when he sate-down before the Town, he was so vigilant upon all Sallyes that were made-out, and so successeful, that he tooke many men and Colours at several times; and, with his Horse, watching all occasions, he once defeated a strong Party of the Newarkers, near to *Grantham*, where the odds of number was so great on their side, that it seemed almost a miraculous Victory. At another time he fell upon a Party of the Earle of *Newcastle's* Army sent toward *Newarke*, and quartering betweene that Towne and *Grantham*; of whom he slew many, tooke an hundred Horse, and forty Prisoners.

Such things as these were the beginnings of CROMWELL, at his first entrance into the Souldiery; those that must be called *his deeds*, were in the following yeares of this unhappy Warre, and will require a larger and more full expression.

In those other Counties which were named before this Discourse of the Association, the fortune of Warre, during the aforesaid Moneths, had been very various, and daily contestations happened, being for the most part betwixt small Parties, and in besieging, taking, and re-taking of Townes and Forts. In *Cheshire* Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, (a wise and vigilant man, who, from the beginning of these troubles, had taken charge of that County, serving in Parliament as Knight thereof,) had so well acted his part against the Earle of *Darby* (made by the King Lord-Lieutenant of that County, as well as of *Lancashire*) that he was the chiefe instrument of delivering *Cheshire* out of his hands, and preserving it for the Parliament, though the greater part of the Gentry there adhered to the King: But it pleased God to give many Victories to Sir WILLIAM BRERETON against them.

He obtained, about the beginning of *March*, a great Victory against those of the King's Party at *Middlewich*, in *Cheshire*; which Towne, after a sharp encounter in the fields before it, he finally tooke, with 500 Prisoners, whereof many were Commanders and Gentlemen of great worth; which Victory did much advance the Parliament's Cause in those parts.

He resisted with great successe the Lord CHOLMELY, and Sir THOMAS ASTON, two powerful men, and zealous for the King's Party.

Having settled in some measure, by extraordinary care and wisdome, his owne County for the Parliament, and raised many stout and well-armed men there, he was forward to give assistance to other parts; and advancing into *Shropshire* against the Lord CAPELL, he surprised a Towne called *Dreyton*, in which Sir VINCENT CORBET, a Commander of the King's side, was quartered: But Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, with small opposition, entered the Town, and tooke two compleat Troops of Horse, and six Companies of Dragoneers. Sir VINCENT CORBET escaped by flight.

He marched thence along through those Counties, and took some places of great import, as the affaires of both Parties stood at that time.

Sir

Of Sir William
Brereton, in Che-
shire.

Sir WILLIAM went-on prosperously, and, within a short time after, tooke *Whitchurch*, upon the edge of *Shropshire*, with great store of Armes and Ammunition, and many Prisoners of the Lord CAPEL's Forces.

But Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, when he joyned Forces with other men, or came-in opportunely to the reliefe, or rescue, of engaged friends, performed divers great and advantageous services to the side he tooke, especially when he joyned in Action with Sir JOHN GELL, of *Derbyshire*, a constant and succesful Actor for the Parliament; of whom, by himselfe, and together with Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, I shall make a further mention.

The County of *Derby*, full of Nobility and Gentry, was much swayed, even from the beginning of these distractions, against the Parliament; for scarce did any Gentleman in all that County, but Sir JOHN GELL, appeare for it at the first. He, with his brother and some of his kindred, by the help of those Freeholders and Yeomen that inclined that way, made a Party to resist those great ones, at such a time as must needs renowne his courage and constancy. And it pleased God to make him prosperous in that great and hazardous undertaking, and to carry it so during the whole Warre.

After the Battel at *Keynton*, he tooke a Commission from the Earle of *Essex*, and, with great care and cost, he provided Arms, and timely seized upon the Town of *Derby*; which Town he so well fortified that it proved a sufficient defence against the assaults of potent Enemies, and a refuge, upon all occasions, to the Parliament's friends; it was likewise, no doubt, a great encouragement to many of the neighbouring Counties, to stand upon their guard in the like kinde.

But the Walls of *Derby* could not immure Sir JOHN GELL, nor hinder him from acting his part abroad. In many Services he joyned himselfe (not without good successe) with Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, and with Colonel CROMWELL, and marched sometimes with the Lord GREY, of *Grooby*, (before-mentioned, Lord-Lieutenant of those Counties) against Master HASTINGS, and against the Towne of *Newarke*.

In the Moneth of *February* he marched with those Forces which he had, under the conduct of the Lord BROOKE, into *Staffordshire*, to take-in *Lichfield*, which was then possessed by a Garrison of the King's side. Having entered the Towne, they found hot and sharpe resistance from a place of great strength, called the Close, or Cathedral-yard, a place famous in the succeeding Warre, as being often gained and re-gained, with the loss of much blood on either side.

Derbyshire.

Sir John Gell does good service to the Parliament in this County.

Lord Brooke acts for the Parliament in Staffordshire, in February, 1642-3.

 CHAP. V.

The Death of the Lord BROOKE, and of the Earle of Northampton. A short mention of some Actions in divers Counties. The low condition of the Parliament at that time. The siege of Gloucester.

The Siege of Lichfield-Close, in February, 1642-3.
The Death of Lord Brooke.

Sir John Gell succeeds to the command, and takes the Close

And in March, 1642-3, obtains a victory at Salt-Heath.

The Death of the Earle of Northampton.

WHILE the Parliament-Army continued at the siege of *Lichfield-Close*, their General, the Lord BROOKE, as he looked-out of a window, was unfortunately shot into the head, and dyed immediately; a man as much lamented by the Parliament as any that ever fell on that side, and as much honoured for his Piety, Valour, and Fidelity.

After his death, Sir JOHN GELL succeeded in that Command, and, about the beginning of *March*, took the Close, with very little losse of blood, though they had their Mines ready prepared to blow-up the Walls of the Close, and had throwne Grenadoes into it; which made the besieged cry-out for Quarter, which they obtained; for the Souldiers thought it not honourable (being in cold blood) to revenge their General's death, by putting them to the Sword. But they tooke a good and rich booty of Money, Bagge, and Baggage, about a thousand Armes, and very considerable Prisoners, the Earle of *Chesterfield*, with his Sonne, and divers other Gentlemen of Ranke.

About the middle of that *March*, Sir JOHN GELL, with an Army of fifteene hundred Horse and Foot, advanced from *Lichfield* toward the Towne of *Stafford*; where it was his fortune to meet with the Earle of *Northampton* and his Forces, consisting of about twelve hundred Horse, at a place called *Cranock-Green*, or *Salt-Heath*, almost foure miles from *Stafford*: The Earle gave a brave and furious Charge upon them, and, being stronger in Horse, made Sir JOHN GELL's Horse to retreat in disorder at this first Charge; in which he took divers of them Prisoners, and surprised two Drakes. After that, he wheeled twice about their Foot, seeking his best advantage where to breake them: But Sir JOHN GELL, and his Commanders, did so well order their Battalia, that the Foot kept unbroken, and made good the field againe together with their Horse, and re-saluted their hot Assailants, fighting Pell-mell for a long time.

At this fierce encounter the Earle of *Northampton*, himselfe, was slaine in the place, and one Master LUCY and Captaine BAGOT, with many more, about whose number

number relations did not agree; a Cornet of the King's also was here slaine, and his Colours taken, having on it a Crowne, and this Inscription, *Carolus Rex*. Two other Cornets were there taken, of which one was the Prince's; for the King's and the Prince's Troops were both there. They tooke Prisoners one of the Earle of *Chesterfield's* younger Sons; and Sir JOHN GELL, by the timely coming-in of Sir WILLIAM BRERETON to his assistance, before the fight was ended, obtained a great Victory, and drove his Enemies quite out of the field. Among the rest, Master HASTINGS (as was then reported) having been once taken Prisoner, and rescued, fled-away wounded.

Thus it fell-out, that these two Peeres, the Earle of *Northampton*, and the Lord BROOKE, who, first of all the Nobility, at the breaking-out of this Civil Distraction, had personally contested in one County, about the Parliament's Ordinance of the Militia and the King's Commission of Array, within a small distance both of place and time, ended their daies by this unhappy Warre. They were both much lamented by their owne Parties, both men of worth and courage, though much different in the manner of their lives and conversations.

As *Cheshire*, (though a County where many Papists inhabited,) was, by the successful care of Sir WILLIAM BRERETON and other Gentlemen, kept from deserting the Parliament, and able to resist the Earle of *Derby*, the King's Lieutenant there: So, her sister, *Lancashire*, (that was more full of Papists and more fiercely assaulted by that Earle, under the same authority, being the place of his chiefe residence and power,) was able, not only to resist him, but finally beat him out of the Country by the courage and industry of divers Protestant Gentlemen of that Shire; of whom I have named many in the preceedent Book. But it is fit to give a little touch of the chiefe actions.

Success of the Parliament party in Lancashire.

The Parliament, in the midst of winter, when that County was in the greatest distraction, had sent-down Sir JOHN SEATON, a Scottish Knight, (an experienced and stout Commander,) as Major-General of the Forces in that Shire, that he might direct the unskillful valour of that people; though many of those Gentlemen had done great services before, as appeared at *Manchester*, and some other places.

One of his exploits was at *Preston*: Sir JOHN SEATON, having settled himselfe at *Manchester*, marched from thence, about the beginning of *February*, toward *Preston*, with Major-General SPARROW, Colonel HOLLAND, Captain BOOTH, Serjeant-Major BIRCH, Master NOWELL of *Mearkley*, and some others, with about ten Companies and almost two thousand Clubmen, to take-in *Preston*, a Town well-fortified, and very stoutly defended. But it was so furiously assaulted (Captaine BOOTH, in person, first scaling the Walls) by the Parliament-Forces, that, after two houres of extreme hot fighting, the Parliament-Forces were Masters of it: The Town was taken with small losse on the assailant side, which was wonderful; not one Officer, and not above seven or eight Common Souldiers. On the other side many fell; the Mayor of the Town, ADAM MORTE, with his Sonne; and Sir GILBERT HOUGHTON's Brother, a Captaine of Horse; with divers others of quality; Sir GILBERT, himselfe, fled to WIGHAM. They tooke two

Sir John Seaton, a Parliament-officer, takes Preston.

hundred Prisoners, whereof many were Gentlemen of good ranke in the Country: They tooke three Pieces of Ordnance, many Muskets, and other Armes, with two or three Colours. The taking of this Town was of great consequence, both toward the maintenance of the Parliament-Forces, and also to stop the passage from *Newcastle* to *Chester* and *Shrewsbury*.

They also take Lancaster, and the castle near it;

Shortly after, Serjeant-Major BIRCH was sent from *Preston* to *Lancaster-Towne*; who, without any great opposition, (for he came suddenly and unexpected) soone entered the Towne with his whole Company; and, being entered, the Townesmen assisted him very freely to winne the Castle there; which he tooke into his possession for the Parliament.

And Wiggon.

Wiggon also, in *Lancashire*, was taken-in, with great store of Armes and Prisoners, by Sir JOHN SEATON, with those Gentlemen that followed him, together with the Townesmen of *Manchester*, and other Clubmen of the Country, whom they had gotten together.

The Earle of *Derby* desisted not from his endeavours to reduce that Country; but marched with a considerable strength to take-in *Whaley*; which he had almost accomplished, but was, notwithstanding, repelled from thence by the Forces of the Country.

The same Earle had likewise possessed himselfe of *Warrington*, a considerable Towne in *Lancashire*; and left a Garrison in it; but, at the beginning of *June*, that Towne was regained by the Forces of *Manchester*, with eight Pieces of Ordnance, and five or six hundred Prisoners: by which all *Lancashire* seemed to be reduced to the obedience of the Parliament, scarce any place of considerable strength being left in the power of the Earle of *Derby*.

Leicestershire.

The Lord GRAY, of *Grooby*, had been long possessed of *Leicester*, as the chiefe-quarter where he resided; and, besides his actions at other parts about that place, with various fortunes had opposed the Forces of Master HASTINGS, who kept a Garrison at *Ashby de la zouch*, and acted with great fervour and constancy for the King's Cause.

Hampshire.

Hampshire had been much distressed by both Parties; but the King's Garrison of *Winchester*, and that of *Basing-House*, (the dwelling-place of Marquesse *Winchester*), were there predominant, and, at their pleasure, forced Contributions from the adjacent Country.

Wales.

Wales was almost wholly at the King's disposal, except very few places, which, with much difficulty, preserved themselves for the Parliament; and some Gentlemen, who, with much hazard, continued their fidelity to that side, such as Colonel GLYNN, Colonel MITTEN, and LAUGHERNE, with other private Gentlemen. But, indeed, the Parliament was then in a low ebbe; and before the end of that *July*, 1643, they had no Forces at all to keep the Field; their maine Armies (as is before touched) being quite ruined, and no hope in appearance left, but to preserve a-while those Forts and Townes which they then possessed; nor could they long hope to preserve them, unlesse the fortune of the field should change.

The Parliament-Party is in a low condition, in July, 1643.

Thus seemed the Parliament to be quite sunke beyond any hope of recovery, and was so believed by many men. The King was possessed of all the Westerne Counties,

Counties, from the farthest part of *Cornwall*, and from thence Northward, as farre as the Borders of *Scotland*. His Armies were full and flourishing, free to march whither they pleased, and enough to be divided for several exploits; one part was sent to take-in *Exeter*, where the Earle of *Stamford* was shut-up, not able long to hold the place. The King in Person, with a gallant Army, designed his March towards *Gloucester*, the onely considerable Towne in those parts, which the Parliament held. What the King's Party conceived then of the other side, was expressed in many Writings; one of which, in the nature of a jeering Epigram, was made at *Oxford*, and is, I think, worthy to be here inserted, on account of the strong expressions it contains of the low Condition of the Parliament at that time. The thing is written in an odde manner, and the names of the Parliament-Commanders, *FAIRFAX* and *WALLER*, are expressed by a *rebus* way of Latine, as likewise those of the King's side, the Mar-quesse of *Hartford*, and the Earle of *Newcastle*. I leave it to the Reader without either Translation or Comment.

Extincta Castro Fax pulchra novo est ;
Nec Nautæ postea nec militi
Sit nota Pharos ; Auster disparem
Haud tulit casum: Murus, cui addita est
Canina littera, mersa est, suis
Cum turmis, nuper, Leporis vado.
Euri Βαρυς οὐεῖ Bristonia
Leporinos horrescens vortices.
Anglica Claudii timet pares
Urbs casus ; Herois Teutonici
Myrmidones astant magno cum Duce.
Pacata Thule est ; nec Noto timor
Popello aut Regi. Nihil relictum est
Britannicum domare Cæsarem
Ni νεομαλτομένεσσι preces Gregis.
Hæc Sphinges raptim Oedipo suo.*
Julii 20, 1643.

* In the first line of this Epigram the two words *Fax pulchra* denote the Lord *Fairfax*, and his son *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, and the troops under their command; and the words *Castro novo* denote the *Earl of Newcastle* and his army. In the fourth and fifth lines the words *Murus, cui addita est Canina Littera*, denote *Sir William Waller*, or *Waller*, and his army; and in the sixth line the words *Leporis vado* denote the *Marquis of Hertford*, or *Hartford*, or *Harford*, or *Hareford*, or *Hare's-ford*, and his army, which had lately defeated *Sir William Waller's* army. In the ninth and tenth lines the words *Claudii urbs* denote the city of *Gloucester*, which is sometimes in Latine called *Claudii castra*. In the tenth line the words *Herois Teutonici* seem to denote *Prince Rupert*, the German Hero, who had lately taken the city of *Bristol*, and who was coming with the great army of the King, with the King himself at the head of it, *cum magno Duce*, to lay siege to *Gloucester*. In the eleventh line the words *Pacata Thule est*, mean that *Scotland* is in a state of Peace, and occasions no fright, or alarm, to the neighbouring Southern Kingdom of England, or to it's people, or it's King, *nec Noto timor, popello aut regi*. And the twelfth line seems to mean that the only enemy that threatens the King's cause with ruin is the prayers of the Puritan faction at *London*, who have lately run mad with religious zeal and enthusiasm.

The Editor of this Second Edition.

London

Intrenchments are made round London and its Suburbs, in August, 1643.

Many Members of both Houses of Parliament desert the Parliament, and go over to the King's side.

The City of London remains faithful and courageous.

The Earl of Manchester takes a Military Commission under the Parliament.

London was then altogether unfortified, no Works were raised; nor could they, if their Enemies, (who were then Masters of the field,) had come upon them, have opposed any Walls, but such as old SPARTA used for their Guard, the hearts of courageous Citizens. But at that time *London* began her large intrenchment; which encompassed not onely the City, but the whole Suburbs on every side, containing about twelve miles in circuit. That great work was by many hands compleated in a short time, it being then a custome every day to go-out by thousands to digge, all Professions, Trades, and Occupations, taking their turnes; and not onely inferiour Tradesmen, but Gentlemen of the best quality, Knights, and Ladies themselves, for the encouragement of others, resorted daily to the Workes, not as spectators but assisters in it; carrying, themselves, Spades, Mattoks, and other instruments of digging, so that it became a pleasing sight at *London*, to see them going-out in such order and numbers, with Drums beating before them; and put life into the drooping people (being taken for an happy Omen) that, in so low a condition, they seemed not to despaire. But bootlesse, in probability, had that labour proved, and not timely enough to save *London*, if the King had marched thither instead of laying siege to *Gloucester*.

But that storme of Fortune was strong enough to shake-off divers of the loose leaves, that seemed to grow on the Parliament side, and unsettle the resolutions of such as were not enough rooted in that Cause which they had chosen: For divers men of great quality, and Members of both Houses, some Lords, and many of the Commons, did at that time desert the Parliament, and fly to *Oxford*: Whose names (though the Lords were named, who first deserted it) are here spared, because this latter result must needs carry the face of a crime; as being no matter of opinion or conscience, by which the first justified themselves; but proceeding, in all probability, from weaknesse, and feare for their private fortunes. They therefore lost much of their esteeme on both sides; becoming like a foile to set-off the constancy of those few Members who durst yet continue there, and remaine firm to their first Principles and the Publike Interest; wading thorow more difficulties and dangers than any former Parliament had been enforced to do.

But in the Parliament itselfe there appeared no show of despaire, as they observed who were then witnesses of their proceedings; and the City of *London* expressed much forwardnesse and alacrity in recruiting the Lord-General *Essex* both with their persons and purses; besides their great endeavour to raise another Army for Sir WILLIAM WALLER, to be as a Reserve to the other, upon the great occasion then in hand.

The Earle of *Manchester*, to his lasting Honour, chose that very time to begin his Martial employment; and, raising Forces thorow the Easterne Associated Counties (of which he was then made General by the Parliament, those Counties having been before prepared for that Association, by the wisdom and activity of the forementioned Colonel CROMWELL) performed, that yeare and the next, great services for the Parliament.

While the Parliament and City of *London* were thus busied in recruiting their decayed Armies, *Gloucester* began to be made the chiefe Scene, on which this Civil

Civil Tragedy was acted, and place of great concernment in the Kingdome, where the first turne of Fortune grew. The City of *Gloucester* was then governed by Colonel EDWARD MASSEY, a man of excellent skill to defend it; of such a courage, as no threats of a powerful Enemy could shake; and such a fidelity, as no promises of a King could overcome. This MASSEY was brought to *Gloucester* by the Earle of *Stamford*, under whom he had served as Lieutenant-Colonel, and, by deputation from that Earle, had, for many Moneths, governed that City.

Of Colonel Massey,
the Governour of
Gloucester.

Now there was no more expectation of the Earle's returne thither; and therefore MASSEY, as the fittest man, by consent both of Citizens and Souldiers, was appointed Governour, and made a Colonel by Commission from the General.

The surrender of *Bristol* to the King's Forces (which was more sudden than could be feared, and for which afterward the Governour Master FIENNES was questioned, and condemned by a Council of Warre) must needs strike a great terrour and sad amazement into *Gloucester*, which now seemed to stand forlorne, and without hope of any rescue, in the midst of a large Country, possessed by their victorious Enemies.

It cannot be denied, that the resolution which this City had taken-up, of resisting the King at such a time was very admirable, if a man consider the small strength they had within; the many discouragements round about them; the great distance of any aid that could be sent to them. Their strength within was very small; the whole number of Souldiers, Horse, Foot, and Dragoones, together with the Trayned-Bands, and those Horse and Dragoones, which on a sudden they got from *Barclay* Castle, consisting of few more than fiftene hundred; forty Barrels of Powder was all their store, with a very meane and slender Artillery for such a Service: The Works were of a vast compasse, and little more than halfe perfected, when this rough storme did first threaten them.

The Citizens of
Gloucester resolve
to defend the City
for the Parliament,
notwithstanding
many disadvantages.

The whole Country round about them, instead of encouraging this resolution of theirs, did rather endeavour to shake and weaken it, by intimations of the danger, and perswasions to make Peace with such an Enemy: For they had revolted from the Parliament, or resolved so to do; and wished, for their owne private Interests, that the King were quietly possessed of that City; for they conceived (not without reason) that the standing-out of *Gloucester* would be unhappy for that Country; because by the falling-downe of a great Army, they could not but expect a destruction of their Corne, Cattle, and all other Provisions; and at the last, if it should so fall-out, that the King should faile of taking-in that Towne, they must be enforced to stoope perpetually under two burdens, and be cast into a sad condition of poverty and misery. Whereas, if that Army did prevaile, they were sure to rest in the heart of the King's Country, farre from spoile and plunder, and, for an easie Contribution, enjoy free and ample Trade.

The succour which the City could expect, was as farre off as *London*; and in what condition the Parliament-Armies then were, is before related. Notwithstanding all this, the Citizens of *Gloucester*, together with examining what strength they had, examined also the grounds of their perseverance. A Common-Council

was

was held, where the Officers of the Souldiery were present ; their late Protestation was called to remembrance, and read there ; by which they were all obliged, never to act or comply with the adverse Faction. Upon which consideration they heightened their courages, and unanimously resolved to refuse the tender of peace. Private cares were then forgotten, and not onely men, but women and children, acted their parts, in making-up those defects that were in the Fortifications.

In this condition stood *Gloucester*, when the King in Person, attended with a great and gallant Army, full of the flower of English Nobility and Gentry, was come to besiege it, being the tenth of *August*, 1643.

Part of the King's Forces, some daies before, had been discerned hovering on the top of the hills ; and a Summons had been sent from Prince RUPERT to the City : To which the Mayor gave answer, That he kept the Towne for His Majestie's behoofe, and could not render it. Which Answer, though laughed-at by those of the Army, the Mayor conceived very justifiable, and that he did truly hold it for the use of His Majesty, but according to the sense of both Houses of Parliament.

The King was full of indignation, that such a forlorne City should stand-out against him ; yet he desired to gaine it without blood, and losse of time, which seemed then pretious in his full career of Victory. To that purpose he came in Person before it, that the reverence, or terrour, of his presence might prevaile with them ; and, being come before the City, he gave this honourable Summons by two Heraulds of Armes.

The King, at the head of his Army, summons the City of Gloucester to surrender, August 10, 1643.

CHARLES REX.

Out of our tender compassion to our City of Gloucester, and that it may not receive prejudice by our Army, which we cannot prevent, if we be compelled to assault it : We are Personally come before it, to require the same, and are graciously pleased to let all the Inhabitants of, and all other persons within, that City, as well Souldiers as others, know, That, if they shall immediately submit themselves, and deliver this City to us, we are contented freely and absolutely to pardon every one of them without exception ; and do assure them in the word of a King, That they, nor any of them, shall receive the least dammage or prejudice by our Army, in their Persons or Estates : But that we will appoint such a Governour, and a moderate Garrison, to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that City, and the whole Country. But, if they shall neglect this offer of Grace and Favour, and compel us by the power of our Army to reduce that place (which, by the help of God, we shall easily and shortly be able to do) they must thank themselves for all the calamities and miseries which shall befall them. To this Message we expect a cleare and positive Answer, within two houres after the publishing hereof ; and by these Presents do give leave

to any persons safely to repaire to, and returne from, us, whom that City shall desire to employ unto us in that businesse. And we do require all the Officers and Souldiers of our Army, quietly to suffer them to passe accordingly.

After some debate upon this Message, an Answer was drawne-up and consented-unto, both by the Citizens and the Souldiers; which was presented to the King by Serjeant-Major PUDSEY and a Citizen; as followeth:

We, the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Souldiers within this Garrison of Gloucester, unto his Majestie's Gracious Message returne this humble Answer, That we do keepe this City, according to our Oath and Allegiance, to and for the use of his Majesty and his Royall Posterity; and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the Commands of His Majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament; and are resolved, by God's helpe, to keepe this City accordingly.

The Answer to the said Summons.

The King received this Answer to his Summons, without any expression of choller or indignation, seeming onely to wonder at their great confidence, and from what hope of reliefe it should proceed, using these words before the Messengers, *WALLER is extinct, and ESSEX cannot come.* But by this time the King's Army was drawne into the fields about Gloucester, Prince RUPERT and General RIVEN facing it on one side with about six thousand Horse and Foot, and two thousand Horse on the other; and immediately after this Answer, advanced forward into the Suburbs, on the East side of the City; but were there entertained with an hot Skirmish, and fired-out. For, upon the returne of the Messengers, the Suburbs were set-on fire, and, flaming round-about, became an object of great terror; by which the Citizens seemed more engaged to pursue their resolution; and the King's Army to settle themselves for gaining by force what they perceived would not be yeelded on other termes.

The King besieges the city of Gloucester, August 10, 1643.

That very night the King's Army began their Intrenchments within Musket-shot of the Walls, on two sides of the City, taking advantage, for their security, of the shadow and shelter of some few Houses which the flames had not caught. Which being perceived, the Musketeers plyed them from the Walls, but could do little hurt so against the Pyoneers; which caused the besieged to make several Sallyes by small Parties into those Trenches, and at some places beat them out, gaining both Armes and Prisoners, and retreating safe.

Sir WILLIAM VAVASOR had advanced with his Welch Forces on the West side, and made neere approach that way, intending to joyne with other Forces that came from Worcester, and had drawne themselves together on the North-West side. On the South side General RIVEN placed his Leaguer, taking advantage of a rising ground in the midst, to shelter himselfe from the shot of the besieged.

Sir JACOB ASTLEY,

ASHLEY, who in the first Skirmishes had received a wound, was quartered with a strong Brigado at the East side of the City.

Thus was *Gloucester* on all sides blocked-up, and nothing expected but a most furious and bloody businesse. The King's Commanders, being many of them Gentlemen of great skill and experience of Conduct, had made their approaches (by the confession of all) with as much advantage as could be; and placed their Batteries accordingly; the Souldiers on that side had shewed themselves very swift and indefatigable in their Intrenchments, and as bold in all attempts which they made upon the Towne. Nor were the besieged behind-hand in courage, patience and activity; as appeared, not onely in their defences, but in their frequent Sallyes; the Governour MASSEY being admired by his Enemies, for the great skill and dexterity which he shewed upon all occasions: Of which I shall discourse the more particularly and at large, by reason of the great importance of this famous Siege; the condition of the whole Kingdome depending so much upon the successe of it.

Many strange and succesful Sallyes were made by the besieged.

Three daies after the Siege was layed, an hundred, and fifty Musketeers, commanded by Captaine GRAY, sallyed over the Workes, upon the *Worcester* Forces, with whom the Welch had not yet joyned, fell into their Quarters, marched-up to their Maine Guard, killed a Captaine, with eight or nine Common Souldiers, tooke five Prisoners, divers Armes, burnt their Guard, and retreated without the losse of any. Captaine MALLERY, with the like number of Musketeers, within a day after, was commanded-forth, to surprize some Ordnance of their Enemies, which were suspected to lye at a certaine place; but, finding none, he retreated without losse, having killed some men, taken a few Prisoners, and fired part of their Quarters. Within a weeke after, another Party of an hundred and fifty Musketeers, commanded by Captain CRISPE, sallyed-forth, and fell into their Enemies Trenches under the Towne-Wall, marched above halfe-way thorow them, performed strangely, and killed above an hundred men, (as was confessed by some of that side,) and, by the help of the Musketeers on the City-Walls, retreated safe, without the losse of any, only two men being wounded.

The Besiegers proceeded with great skill and industry in making their Batteries, and undermining at several places; which labour of undermining, at some places was made frustrate by water-springs, and in others by the extreme hardnesse of rocky ground; and where the businesse was more feasible, the skill of the Governour prevented them by countermining. Many Granadoes were shot of great bignesse from their Morterpieces into the Town, but guided by a strange hand of providence into such by-places that they did very little hurt. One thing is worthy the relating; when the Welch and *Worcester* Forces of the King came-up, and foure Peeces of Ordnance were drawne a good distance before the place of their Leaguer, and one of them planted for battery; a Party of about foure hundred Musketeers, commanded by Major PUDSEY and Captaine GRAY, assisted by Captaine FAULKNER and Captaine MASSEY, sallied forth of one of the Gates; meane while a Lieutenant, with fifty Musketeers, was sent over the Works to give them

them an Alarum, whilst the greater Party got behind their Cannon and Breast-Works; fell upon their maine Guard, slew many Officers, two Cannoniers, slew, or mortally wounded, about an hundred Common Souldiers; tooke a Lieutenant, with foure more Prisoners; nayled their Cannon; and retreated with the losse onely of two slaine, and foure taken Prisoners.

Two Sallyes of such Parties were, not long after, made, though not with the same successe altogether (by reason of some mis-guidance) yet with so much as that they retreated without any sensible losse; and were enough to amaze their Enemies, that such small Parties should runne-up to their head-Quarters, force their men, and be able in that manner to recover back. And it was observed by those who well understood Warre, that it was a more than ordinary providence, which did preserve and bring-off those many several Parties, when the vanquishing of any one of them must needs run the City into extreme hazard; whose whole strength remained upon the Workes day and night, except the reserve of an hundred and twenty men at the Maine-Guard. One rare and slender ranke were to receive all the storme without seconds: Yet it was the opinion of the best Souldiers, that the safety of the whole did require those frequent Sallyes, as the best remedies for so desperate a disease: Which did not onely retard their Enemies Preparations, but put them into an Amaze, that the besieged should continue in such an height of resolution; which resolution was to be kept-up by the heat of Action. And it was the Governour's care, to keep his Enemies waking by continual Alarms, to waste and weary them.

The King's Army were still preparing for a general storme, and striving in the meane time to waste the Magazine of the Town, which, they hoped, would soone faile: they spent their owne store, and daily acted to the terrour of the besieged; shooting Granadoes and Fire-balls out of their Morter-Pieces; and from one Battery which they had planted, shot in one night above twenty fiery bullets, which flew thorow the ayre like so many falling Stars, some eightene pound weight, others two and twenty; some of them passing thorow Stables and Hay-ricks, did, notwithstanding, by their swift motion, faile of kindling; and, (which seemed strange,) could not set one house on fire. Many Mines and Countermines were, every day, working with great industry on both sides, the Governour MASSEY, striving to animate his men, and prevent the Towne's despairing, by shewing the probability of a sudden reliefe; withal adding, that their so late yeelding would not all mollifie the King's Army. On the other side, the King seemed loath to invite them to yeeld solemnly by publike Summons, least he should detract from the honour of his enterprize. Yet many dealt with them underhand, by advertisements of the King's displeasure, using also perswasions, and some intimations of the possibility of Grace.

CHAP. VI.

The Expedition of the Lord-General Essex for reliefe of Gloucester. The great Battel of Newbury described.

Preparations at London for the reliefe of the City of Gloucester.

WHILEST Gloucester was thus besieged, and the Siege so straight, that no intelligence could possibly arrive at it; the Parliament, (who, after serious considerations and debates, had, for the present, resolved upon the reliefe of that City, as the onely meanes to preserve the Kingdome;) were as much straightened how to proceed in the businesse with that expedition which was required. To recruit an Army so much wasted as the Lord-General's was, seemed too slow for this Service; and therefore the Trayned-Bands of London, and their Auxiliaries, must of necessity be made use of. Those that were well-affected to the Parliament encouraged each other to the Worke: The disaffected, on the other side, laboured in all discourses to breed despaire of the Atchievement; and, to discourage the Lord-General from marching, false reports were every day raised in London, that Gloucester was taken. The Lord-General Essex was foure score miles off, with no present, or visible, Army at that time; his March lying thorow those Countries which were already harrowed by the Enemy: Insomuch that all considered, it was a question, which was the more wonderful, "that he undertooke it," or "that he did it." The Parliament was at that time so farre sunke, both in strength and reputation, and so much forsaken by those who followed fortune, that nothing but an extraordinary providence could make it againe emergent. The Cause, and very Being, of the Parliament, was now at stake; by the successe onely of this Expedition, to be redeemed, or quite lost. But it pleased God, that, according to that extremity, the resolutions of men were fitted. The City-Regiments and Auxiliaries came cheerfully in, to performe the Service; and that poore remainder of the Lord-General's old Army was with all speed recruited. An Army was likewise intended to be speedily raised for Sir WILLIAM WALLER to march after, as a Reserve. But that was not so suddenly done as the occasion required; if it had, and Sir WILLIAM could (as was intended) have come-in with a supply at Newbury, it was the opinion of most men, that the King's side would have received an irrecoverable Defeat.

On

On the 24th of *August* the Lord-General *Essex* on *Hounslow* Heath, ten miles from *London*, mustered his men; where almost all the Members of both Houses of Parliament rode with him to survey the Army; and toward evening tooke leave of their General, who marched-on, and that night lodged at *Colebrook*.

The Earl of Essex marches with an army to the relief of the City of Gloucester, August 24, 1643.

Upon intelligence of this Armie's advance, Prince RUPERT, with the greatest part of the King's Horse, drew-off from *Gloucester*, to oppose their March, and take what advantages he could against it: But the King with his maine Army continued the Siege, resolving so to do till the last houre; hoping that every moment might worke somewhat for his end; either by failing of the Towne's store of Ammunition, or some other want that might happen. Neither was that hope without reason. And so much more wonderful was the fortune of that Towne, to be relieved at such a nick of time, when their Ammunition was so farre consumed, that but three single Barrels of Powder were left in their Magazine.

On Saturday the 26th of *August* 1643, the Lord-General *Essex* began his March from *Colebrooke* to *Beckensfield*, and so forward to *Beerton*, where he cloathed his Army, and marched-on. The City-Regiments and Auxiliaries joyned not with the Lord-General's Army till the first of *September*, when the general Rendezvouze was on *Brackley* Heath. But before the joyning of all their Forces, a small Party of the King's Army, consisting of 400 Horse, had faced a part of the Parliament-Army, and skirmished with them about *Bicister*, but soone retreated upon the approach of greater numbers. The General taking-up his Head Quarters at *Aynow*, sent a Regiment to quarter that night at *Deddington* under the Conduct of Colonel MIDDLETON; who, hearing there of two Regiments of the King's Horse, sent two Companies of Dragoones and a Party of Horse, to approach the Towne. But the King's Horse retreated to a passage toward *Oxford*, where the Lord WILMOT was with 50 Troops more. The next morning two Parliament-Regiments, conducted by MIDDLETON and Sir JAMES RAMSEY, advanced to that passe; where their Enemies stood in two great Bodies, and, after some Skirmish, gained the passe, placing Dragooneers to maintaine it. But the King's Forces drew-up againe toward it, and were received with a very hot Skirmish, which lasted many houres, till at last the King's Forces made a retreat; but, perceiving that Colonel MIDDLETON marched-back toward the maine Army (which he did by the Lord-General's Command) they sent a Party of Horse to fall-on his Reare, who followed them thorow *Deddington*; but were beaten-back thorow the Towne in some confusion. The losse of men in these Skirmishes was not much on either side; neither could it certainly be knowne, but was imagined by the Parliament-side to be more on their Enemies Party than on theirs.

The Lord-General with his owne Regiment of Horse, and the Lord GRAY, quartering at *Adderbury*, upon intelligence that some of the King's Horse from *Banbury* were abroad, sent-out a Party from both Regiments, who beat them in againe, and pursued them into *Banbury* Towne, whence they tooke divers Horses and Prisoners, those in the Castle not daring to stirre-out. The General marched from

from thence to *Chipping Norton*; where some of the King's Forces appeared againe, but soone retreated, as they did almost every day, during the March of that Army.

On the fourth of *September*, when the Lord-General marched toward *Stow* on the *Old*, he sent Colonel HARVEY, with his Regiment of Horse, and two Regiments of Foot, to advance a little before toward the right-hand, and the City-Regiments upon the left, under the Conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel BAILY, General-Adjutant of the Foot. Prince RUPERT appeared with about 4000 Horse, drawne-up on the Hills, facing the Parliament-Forces, and sent a strong Party of Horse into a bottome neer *Stow* on the *Old*, to encompass Colonel HARVEY's Regiments. Which being perceived, three Regiments from the Vanne of the Parliament-Army advanced to his rescue, and made that Party of the King's Forces retreat to their maine Body: Many Skirmishes there happened; but with little losse on either side.

From thence the General marched in the Front of his Infantry, Sir JAMES RAMSEY in the Reare, and Sir PHILIP STAPLETON had the Van-Guard. When the King's Horse againe appeared, and were by Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, and others of that Army, encountered with divers Skirmishes; but they retreated in a great Body, and still appeared before the Parliament-Army, as they marched-on, for the space of seven miles.

The King abandons
the Siege of Gloucester,
Sept. 6, 1643.

The Lord-General
Essex with his army
enters the City of
Gloucester, Sept. 8,
1643.

On the fifth of *September* the Lord-General advanced, and came to *Presbury Hills*; where he drew-up his whole Army in view of the City of *Gloucester*, and discharged foure Peeces of great Ordnance, to give them notice of his approach. Soone after he might discover the King's Quarters on fire: For upon the Lord-General's advance, they deserted the Siege, and marched-away all night. The Reere-Guard of the Lord-General's Army, some Ordnance and Ammunition, stayed on the top of the Hill, by reason of the steepnesse thereof, the darknesse of the night, and the tempestuousness of the weather, whereby (besides a famine of Victuals) the whole Army had, for three daies March before, extremely suffered, through a Country that their Enemies had already destroyed. But the Lord-General marched from thence to *Cheltenham*, though, during his March, the King's Forces skirmished with some Parts of his Army, and divers times beat-up his Quarters whilst he stayed at *Cheltenham*, which was two daies, till the eighth of *September*, when he marched with his whole Army to *Gloucester*; and was there, with great expressions of joy, and much honour, received by that long-besieged, and now-rescued City; The General much extolling the skilful valour and indefatigable industry of Colonel MASSEY, and praising the patient constancy of the City; They, on the other side, highly honouring his Excellency for bringing them this reliefe, thorow so many difficulties, discouragements, and disadvantages; both joyning in thanks to Almighty God, for his divine providence over them, and great mercy in sending so timely a deliverance.

The Lord-General lodged two nights in *Gloucester*, furnishing the City with Ammunition, Money, and other necessaries; and from thence marched to *Tewksbury*,

bury, and intended to quarter at *Cheltenham*. But he was advertised, that a Body of the King's Army were then in *Cirencester* (which were reported to be Prince MAURICE's Forces) and had there layed-in great store of Provision for their Army. Upon that advertisement the General, (his want of Victuals and necessaries still continuing, and miserably increasing upon his whole Army,) made a long March with the Van-guard of his Army to fall upon them; which he did about one of the clock in the night, sending-in a Party of Horse to seize upon the Centinels and Guards, whilst himselfe, with the rest of the Horse, begirt the Towne; and a Forlorne hope of Foot, with his owne Foot-Regiment, entered the Towne, and surprized two Regiments of Horse (belonging to Sir NICHOLAS CRISPE, and Colonel SPENCER) which were (by the confession of some Prisoners taken,) intended for raising a Commotion in *Kent*. The Lord-General at that Towne of *Cirencester* tooke forty Loads of Victual, which, under God's providence, was the preservation of his Army, until the day that the great Battel of *Newbury* was fought. He tooke there likewise six Standards, all the Officers, except the two Colonels, which were absent, with divers other gentlemen of quality; above 300 Common Soldiers, and 400 Horse.

He takes Cirencester and a great quantity of provision, and makes many prisoners.

The General from *Cirencester*, in short Marches, not above five miles a day, went to *Cricklade*, and to *Swinden*, from thence intending to passe to *Hungerford*. But when the Van and Body of his Army had marched almost all over *Auburne-Chase*, a gallant Body of the King's Horse, consisting of about 6000, approached hard to the Reere-guard of his Army; which, not being a sufficient number to resist them, endeavoured to make an orderly retreat to the Body of their Army. But the King's Horse pursued so hotly both on Reere and Flanke, that those Horse Regiments of the General's Reere-guard could not retreat but with confusion, and some losse. But, being come to the Body of the Foot, they were drawne-up againe into order, and faced their Enemies, until all the Foot were marched. Neverthelessse the King's Horse, againe advancing, put their Enemies the second time into the like disorder; till some of the General's Regiments facing-about towards them, charged the Forlorne Hope of the King's Forces, consisting of 500 Horse, and put them wholly into disorder; and then charging the two Regiments which seconded that Forlorne Hope, they routed them likewise; but the King's Horse came-on bravely with fresh Bodies, and stopt their Enemies further pursuit. Immediately followed a brave Charge, made by two of the Parliament's Regiments, which was encountered with as much Gallantry on the other side, so that they both retreated at one time. Another Charge was made by some Regiments of the Parliament-Army, and so answered by the other, that they were forced to retreat to their maine Body; at which time Sir PHILIP STAPLETON (who had the Van-guard of the Parliament Army that day) came purposely back, and drew-up his Regiment to succour his friends, which caused the King's Forces to retire altogether; and the night stopt any further proceedings.

On the King's Party in these hot encounters, were slaine the Marquesse *De Vieuville*, with other Officers of good quality, whose worth and valour appeared highly,

highly, though I finde not their names recorded. Many Common Souldiers were there slaine, and one Lieutenant-Colonel; two Lieutenants and a Cornet taken Prisoners. On the Parliament's side were slaine of Officers, Captaine MIDDLETON, and Captaine HACKET; divers Officers were wounded, some Common Souldiers slaine, and Colonel SHEFFIELD lost a Standard. The Lord-General *Essex* marched that night with his Army to *Hungerford*; Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, who before had the Van, bringing-up the Reere.

The next day the famous Battel of *Newbury* was fought; which Battel may deserve (because the condition of the whole Kingdom so much depended on the succeſſe of it) to be related in a large and particular manner. But, because I have found nothing written of it by those of the King's Party; and that there was a punctual Narrative published by some Colonels of the Parliament-Army, Gentlemen of great and unstained Reputation, concerning this Battel; which Narrative I have heard some of their Enemies confesse to be full, not onely of modesty, but truth in the General, or for the most part; let the Reader be pleased to take it from their Relation. If any thing may hereafter appeare of greater truth, it will not trouble any honest man to see it published. Neither is it a thing unheard-of, for men to describe their owne actions with impartial truth; since JULIUS CÆSAR is acknowledged to have written his owne Commentaries, not onely of the *Gallike*, but also of the Civil, Warre, with so much cleare integrity, that his Enemies had nothing to blame in it. Take it therefore in their Language.

The Battel of Newbury, Sept. 19, 1643.

On Tuesday the nineteenth of *September*, 1643, we marched from *Hungerford* towards *Newbury*; and, when we approached within two miles of the Town, we might discover the Enemies Forces upon an hill; their whole Army, having prevented us, were gotten to *Newbury*, and possest the Towne. But the next morning, being Wednesday, by break of day order was given for our March to an Hill called *Biggs Hill*, neere to *Newbury*, and the onely convenient place for us to gaine, that we might with better security force our passage. But, when his Excellency perceived that the Enemies Forces had possest themselves of that hill, marching himselfe upon the head of his owne Regiment, Colonel BARCLAY's, and Colonel HOLBOURNE's Brigades, he charged so fiercely, that he beat them from the hill, and kept it (rather gaining than losing ground) the whole day. His Excellencie's Regiment, and those other Brigades, all the while they continued there, were hotly charged by the Enemie's Horse and Foote, whilst much prowesse was shewed on both sides. The General in Person bestirred himselfe, giving directions where-ever there was occasion, and present in all places of danger, discharged the part of an excellent General, as the Enemies themselves witnessed. But he considered not the danger of his Person, whilst he laboured to maintaine that place, which of all others was most advantageous for his prospect. By this time came-up the two Trayned-Bands of *London*, who, though they were often charged by the Horse and Foot, stood to it with undaunted resolution.

The Battel thus begun by the Foot, Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, with his Excellency's Guard and Regiment of Horse, advanced upon the plaine of the Hill; when

when he had no sooner drawne-up out of the Lane's-end, seconded by Colonel DALBEIRE's Regiment of Horse, (no other Horse being advanced to the place) but the Enemy perceiving this advantage, being all drawne already in several great Bodies of Horse, part of them advanced immediately, and charged our Horse; whom we so well received (giving no fire till we joyned close with them) that the Enemy was wholly routed, and pursued with much execution near to the place where their whole Body of Horse stood. From thence, by order, we drew-back to our first ground; by occasion whereof, opportunity was gained to bring-up the remainder of our Horse, which had the Van-guard that day: whereupon the Enemy drew-out some fresh Regiments of his Horse, and with all possible speed advanced againe upon Sir PHILIP, but received no better entertainment than before, being againe routed by him. By that time that he had drawne-up his Regiment againe into some order, the other Regiments (those of RAMSEY, HARVEY, and GOODWIN,) were come-up to him, when the Enemy, with their whole Body, charged upon them bravely, and were as well received. Sir PHILIP STAPLETON was here charged both in Front and Flanke, (his whole Regiment having spent both their Pistols,) and was so encompassed, that the Enemy and ours, with both our whole Bodies, were all mixed together; and in this confusion many were slaine on both sides, and our men, at last, were forced towards the Lane's-end, where they first came-in; which being near our Foot, the Enemies endeavoured to dis-engage themselves, and drew-back to their owne Forces. Those that entered the Lane with ours were most of them slaine.

We tooke three Colours of Horse compleat, and a piece of another Colours. In the first Charge Colonel DALBEIRE and Commissary COPLEY, charging stoutly, were both wounded. In the third Charge, Captaine HAMOND, Captaine FLEETWOOD, Captaine PYM, and Cornet DOILY, were all wounded. Captaine DRAPER, who had a Forlorn Hope of Sir PHILIP STAPLETON's men, did good Service; as Captaine ABERCROMBY, and Captaine SHIBBORNE, did with their Dragoones. The left-wing of our Horse, commanded by Colonel MIDDLETON, and the right-wing of the Enemy's Horse, could not be engaged, but in small Parties, by reason of the hedges.

The actions of our Horse thus described wholly, (because we were loath to interrupt the Series, for the Reader's clearer understanding) returne we to the Foot. Major-General SKIPPON in the morning, when his Excellency (as aforesaid) was engaged upon the hill, hastened to the top of the hill, where our Van-guard was in fight; having before ordered the March of our Traine of Artillery, and those that attended it (which were the Lord ROBERTS's Brigade, and his owne, Sir WILLIAM SPRINGER's, Colonel MANWARING's, and the red and blew Auxiliary Regiments) to be near to his Excellency. Looking from the Hill toward *Newbury*, he perceived a great strength of the Enemy, both Horse and Foot, in divers great Bodies advancing directly toward the way through which all our Traine was of necessity to march. To prevent, therefore, what he suspected, (which was, that the Enemy would fall upon our Traine, or upon the Reare of those that fought on

the hill, or gaine that hill behinde us, our last night's Quarter, or all;) he speedily disposed (which his Excellency did also send him a Command to do) his Forces in places most convenient: Meanewhile, the General sending for more Foot, that Brigade wherein his Regiment and SPRINGER'S were, with the red Auxiliaries, were sent-up; placing the Lord ROBERTS'S Brigade, with foure small Pieces, just where the Enemy advanced, who gave them so warme an entertainment, that they made them run; and the Lord ROBERTS possest the ground, which the Enemy came first up unto: His Lieutenant-Colonel was shot in the face.

That Forlorne Hope which he had commanded the night before, being now strengthened with 300 Musketeers, and led by Major FORTESCUE, Major-General SKIPPON placed on the left of the Lord ROBERTS'S Brigade, upon the high-way that came from *Newbury* just upon us; upon which four Drakes were likewise placed, and well defended, though the Enemies came-up so close that they tooke-away a Limmer of one of our Pieces; but it was with losse of many of their lives.

Colonel MANWARING'S Regiment was placed on the right-hand, betweene the hill and the Lord ROBERTS'S Brigade. This Regiment his Excellency a-while after commanded-away, to the reliefe of his owne Regiment, Colonel BARCLAY'S and Colonel HOLBORNE'S Brigades, which had been foure houres upon very hot Service. It fortuned that this Regiment was no sooner brought-on, but they were overcharged with two great Bodies of Horse and Foot, so that they were forced to retreat, and lose that ground which the forenamed Forces had gotten; which Colonel HOLBORNE perceiving, with his Brigade gave the Enemy a *Round Salvo*, and instantly his owne, and Colonel BARCLAY'S Brigades, and the General's Regiment againe advancing, beat-back the Enemy, regained the ground, and made good the place during all the remainder of the day.

The blew Auxiliary Regiment was commanded to relieve and assist the Forlorne Hope, which had been three or foure times in their turnes at the point. The Fight all along the Valley (more than half a mile in length) was continued as long as in any other part of the Army, which was till ten a-clock at night; about which time the Enemy gave a good *Round Salvo* upon Colonel BARCLAY, and Colonel HOLBORNE'S Posts. These things ordered, the Major-General rode-up to the top of the hill, where he espyed an advantage to bestow eight or nine Demi-Culvering shot upon the Enemy; who, out of an house, pelted the forenamed Gentlemen at a near distance. Then he rallied the two Train-Band Regiments into one Body, drew them up, and placed them before, where the Traine of Artillery did afterwards draw-up to the top of the hill, and desired Major BOTELER to draw the Musketeers of his Regiment on the right-hand before the two Demi-Culverings that were placed at the end of the Lane, on the top of the Hill; and the red Auxiliaries he placed on the left-hand of those Pieces, which before were slenderly guarded. The Artillery was well-ordered that day, by the skill and care of Sir JOHN MERRICK.

While this was acting, two Pieces, which belonged to the Major-General's Regiment,

giment, and one Drake of Sir WILLIAM BROOKE's, were, by the General's Regiment, under the Command of Major BOTELER, with the assistance of 200 Musketeers, recovered; and the Enemy drew-away from their Pikes (which with their Colours kept standing, with many great Bodies of Horse to guard them) five or six hundred Musketeers, besides Dragoones, to encompass our men on the right-hand among the hedges; just at which time his Excellency sent to have 300 Musketeers of the Forlorne Hope, to go to the reliefe of Colonel BARCLAY, and Colonel HOLBORNE's Souldiers. But then the Enemy falling-on upon our right-hand, diverted them, who, with other of our Musketeers thereabouts, beat the Enemy off, who else had done us great mischief. This was about foure o'clock in the afternoone, when all our whole Army of Foot was engaged in the Fight. But then he also caused some of the red Auxiliary Regiment to draw nearer to Colonel BARCLAY's Post, as he himselfe required. At length night drew-on, when the Enemy, both Horse and Foot, stood in good order on the further side of the Greene, where we expected their stay till next morning, and that they were working (as was reported) to place their Cannon, to make use of them against us when day should breake: Against which supposed encounter we encouraged our Souldiers before-hand, and resolved, by God's help, the next day, to force our way through them, or dye. But it pleased God to make our passage without blows; for the Enemy was gone by night; so that the next morning we marched quietly over the same ground where the Battel was fought, and where the Enemy stood; for, on Thursday early, his Excellency gave Command for the Armies to March towards *Reading*; to which purpose it was all drawne-up upon the Heath, where the Battel was fought; and, after that his Excellency had given order for the burying the dead, about ten o'clock we began to march. Colonel MIDDLETON, with his owne, and three Regiments more (Lord GREY, SHEFFIELD, MELDRUM) and 400 commanded Musketeers under Colonel BARCLAY, had the Reere-guard: During which March, the Enemy, at a great distance, shot from several hedges, but troubled us not. When we came to a long Heath, we drew-up the whole Army several times; and no Enemy appeared. But at the entrance of a narrow Lane toward the evening, the Enemy fell upon us with 800 commanded Musketeers, and most of their Horse, who caused our Horse, then in the Reare, to make a very disorderly and confused retreat. But when Colonel MIDDLETON, with the rest of the Commanders in the Reare, hasted to charge the Enemy with our Foot, he made them retreat with as much confusion over the Heath, as they had made us retreat before; the losse not being great on either side. Lieutenant BROWNE was taken Prisoner.

After this, the same evening, the Lord-General drew-up the Army to *Theale*, and, taking some refreshment there, marched the next morning, being Friday, with the whole Army to *Reading*; where he stayed till the Sabbath was past, and gave publike thanks for the great Victory.

The Lord-General
and his army march
to Reading; Sept.
22, 1643.

This was a Victory not denied to the Parliament, nor at all disputed; although the Lord-General *Essex*, for want of Victuals, marched-away to the necessary reliefe of his Army, and could not stay to pursue the Victory which he had gotten.

The number of slaine in that Battel, were judged to be, by those who speak most moderately, foure times as many of the King's Party as of the Parliament's; but others have spoken of a farre greater difference. Divers Captains, as Captaine MASSY, and Captaine HUNT, with others, were slaine on the Parliament-side; but scarce any of higher ranke. Three of the Nobility fell on the King's side, the Earl of *Carnarvon*, the Lord SPENCER (newly-made by the King Earle of *Sunderland*) and the Lord Viscount *Fawkland*.

The Lord-General Essex returns to London, about Sept. 27, 1643.

After this Victory, the Lord-General was received at *London* with great joy and Honour. The Trayned Bands and Auxiliaries of *London* marched home in full Companies, and were welcomed by their friends; and met by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Temple-Barre: And now the face of things seemed much to change, and the reputation of the Parliament to rise higher.

The King agrees to a cessation of Arms with the Irish Rebels, in Sept. 1643.

At the time of this Expedition for the reliefe of *Gloucester*, a Cessation of Arms was made by the King with the Irish Rebels; of which, together with the great Victories which small numbers of the English Forces obtained over great multitudes of those Irish Rebels, before the time of that Cessation (which was here omitted, as not to interrupt the Relation of proceedings in the English Warres) there may be a larger Discourse in the continuation of this History; as also of the Covenant which the Parliament, and that part of the Nation which adhered to them, about this time entered into with their Brethren of *Scotland*, for maintenance of the Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of both Kingdomes.

· HERE ends this full and faithful History of the first three years of this celebrated Parliament, (which has since been generally called *The Long Parliament of King Charles the 1st.*) by Mr. THOMAS MAY. For, though he here speaks of a *Continuation of it* as a work that he then designed speedily to enter-upon, he never carried that design into execution. However, he afterwards published a more summary history of the whole Civil War of England, down to the trial and execution of King Charles in January, 1648-9, about three years after the publication of the present history, to wit, in the year 1650, during the Government of England and Ireland under the form of a *Common-wealth*, or *Republick*, without a King and House of Lords, and before *Oliver Cromwell* had usurped the Supreme authority by military force under the title of *Lord Protector*. This summary history was published with the approbation of the Parliament then sitting, under the authority of an *Imprimatur* signed *Na. Brent*, and dated June 10, 1650, which was about a year before the Author's death. It is written in a clear and easy style, and is full of judicious observations, and seems to be very faithful and impartial. The title of it is as follows:

A BREVIARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND;

EXPRESSED IN THREE PARTS:

1. *The causes and beginning of the Civil War of England.*
2. *A short mention of the Progress of that Civil War.*
3. *A compendious Relation of the Original and Progress of the Second Civil War.*

Written by THOMAS MAY, Esquire.

The oldest Edition I have seen of this *Breviary of the History of this Parliament* was published in the year 1655. But I suppose there had been a former Edition of it in the year 1650, which is the date of the *Imprimatur*.

F. M.



*A View of the two Houses of the Parliament of England,
with King Charles the First on the Throne;
on the 3^d day of November, 1640. being the first day of the meeting of the said Parliament.*

APPENDIX.

FOR the further satisfaction of the Readers of the foregoing valuable History of the first part of the celebrated Long Parliament of England (from it's beginning on the 3d day of November, 1640, to the 27th of September, 1643,) by Mr. THOMAS MAY, I shall here insert an APPENDIX to it, containing all the papers issued by the King and the Parliament, from the time of the King's return from Scotland to London in November, 1641, to the middle of the following month of March, in the year 1641-2, when the King had retired from his usual residence at his Palace at White-hall in consequence of some tumults in the City of London, and was gone to Huntingdon in his way to the City of York, where he afterwards resided for some time, and began to raise soldiers as a Guard to his Person, which he declared he apprehended to be in danger: which measure was, in a few months after, followed by an open war between him and the Parliament. The papers here re-published form the first part of the large Collection (mentioned above in the Note in page 129,) which was published by Mr. HUSBANDS in the year 1642-3; and they relate to the principal subjects of dispute in these unfortunate dissensions between the King and the Parliament; and therefore will, as I conceive, be sufficient to gratify the curiosity of the greater part of the Readers of this History. But they are followed in that Collection by a great body of other papers, which, on account of
their

their great number, and the great length of many of them, I have not thought it necessary to reprint on this occasion, though they contain much important matter that may be interesting to very diligent inquirers into the foundations of our Laws and Government; Mr. HUSBANDS's whole Collection extending to no fewer than 954 pages.

F. M.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING ALL THE PAPERS IN HUSBANDS'S COLLECTION, FROM THE BEGINNING
OF DECEMBER, 1641, TO THE 16th OF MARCH, 1641-2.

HIS MAJESTIE'S SPEECH, to both Houses of PARLIAMENT, December 2, 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THINK it fit, after so long absence, at this first occasion, to speak a few words unto you ; but it is no ways in Answer to Master Speaker's learned Speech. Albeit I have staid longer than I expected to have done when I went-away, yet in this I have kept my promise with you, that I have made all the haste back again, that the settling of my *Scotch* Affaires could any ways permit : in which I have had so good successe, that I will confidently affirme to you, that I have left that Nation a most peaceable and contented People ; so that, although I have a little misreckoned in time, yet I was not deceived in my end.

But, if I have deceived your expectations a little in the time of my return, yet I am assured that my expectation is as much, and more, deceived in the condition wherein I hoped to have found businesse at my return. For, since that, before my going, I settled the Liberties of my Subjects, and gave the Laws a free and orderly course, I expected to have found my People reaping the fruits of these benefits, by living in quietnesse, and satisfaction of minde : But, instead of this, I finde them disturbed with Jealousies, Frights, and Alarms of dangerous Designes and Plots ; in consequence of which, Guards have been set to defend both Houses : I say not this as in doubt that my Subjects affections are any way lessened to me in this time of my absence ; (for I cannot but remember, to my great comfort, the joyful reception I had now at my entry into *London* ;) but rather as I hope that my presence will easily disperse these fears. For I bring as perfect and true affections to my people as ever Prince did, or as good Subjects can possibly desire. And I am so far from repenting me of any Act I have done this Session for the good of my people, that I protest, if it were to do again, I would do it and will yet grant what else can be justly desired for satisfaction in point of Liberties, or in maintenance of the true Religion that is here established.

Now

Now I have but one particular to recommend unto you at this time. It is *Ireland*: for which though I doubt not your care, yet me-thinks the preparations for it go but slowly on. The occasion is the fitter for me now to mention it, because of the Arrival of two Lords from *Scotland*, who come instructed from my Council there (who now, by Act of Parliament, have full power for that purpose,) to answer that Demand which it pleased both Houses to make me by way of Petition, that met me at *Barwick*, and which the Duke of *Richmond* sent-back by my command to my *Scotch-Council*: Therefore my desire is, That both Houses would appoint a select Committee, to end this businesse with these Noblemen. I must conclude in telling you, that I seek my people's happinesse; for their flourishing is my greatest glory, and their affections my greatest strength.

By the KING.

A PROCLAMATION for obedience to the LAWES ordained for establishing of the true RELIGION in this KINGDOM of ENGLAND.

HIS Majestie, considering that it is a dutie most beseeming, and that most obligeth Sovereign Authoritie in a Christian King, to be careful (above all other things) of preserving and advancing the Honour and Service of Almighty God, and the Peace and Tranquillitie of the Church, (to which end His Majestie, with his Parliament, hath it under consideration, how all just scruples might be removed :) And being, in the mean time, sensible that the present division, separation, and disorder about the Worship and Service of God, as it is established by the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, in the Church of *England*, tendeth to great distraction and confusion, and may endanger the subversion of the very essence and substance of true Religion: Hath resolved, for the preservation of Unitie and Peace (which is most necessary at this time for the Church of *England*) to require Obedience to the Lawes and Statutes ordained for establishing of the true Religion in this Kingdom, whereby the Honour of God may be advanced, to the great comfort and happinesse both of his Majestie and His good Subjects.

His Majestie doth therefore charge and command, That Divine Service be performed in this His Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, as is appointed by the Laws and Statutes established in this Realm, and that obedience be given by all His Subjects, Ecclesiastical and Temporal, to the said Laws and Statutes concerning the same; And that all Judges, Officers, and Ministers, Ecclesiastical and Temporal, according to Justice and their respective duties, do put the said Acts of Parliament in due execution against all wilfull Contemners and Disturbers of Divine Service, contrary to the said Laws and Statutes.

His Majestie doth further command, That no Parsons, Vicars, or Curates, in their

their several Parishes shall presume to introduce any Rites, or Ceremonies, other than those which are established by the Laws and Statutes of the Land.

Given at His Majestie's Palace of White hall, the tenth day of
December, in the seventeenth yeer of his Majestie's Reign.
God save the King.

By the KING.

A PROCLAMATION *for the Attendance of the MEMBERS in both*
HOUSES in PARLIAMENT.

HIS Most Excellent Majestie, having summoned this present Parliament in His princely care of the good and welfare of His loving Subjects; In the continuance of the same care, doth, with advice of his Privie-Council, by this His Royal Proclamation, declare His Royal Will and Pleasure to be; That all the Members of both Houses of Parliament doe repair to the Parliament at *Westminster* at, or before, the twelfth of *January* next, and give their due and diligent attendance in Parliament: To the end that this Kingdom may fully enjoy the benefit and happiness which His Majestie intendeth unto them by Summoning and continuing of this Parliament. And of this His Majestie's Will and Command they are to take notice by this His Proclamation, and to give a just observance thereunto, upon such pains and penalties as by Law and Justice may be inflicted upon them.

Given at his Majestie's Palace of Whitehall, the twelfth day of
December, in the seventeenth yeer of His Majestie's Reign.
God save the King.

HIS MAJESTIE'S SPEECH *delivered to both HOUSES in PARLIAMENT,*
the fourteenth of December, 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE last time that I was in this place, and the last thing that I recommended unto you was the businesse of *Ireland*; whereby I was in good hope that I should not have had need again to put you in minde of that businesse. But, still seeing the slow proceedings therein, and the daily Dispatches that I have out of *Ireland* of the lamentable estate of my Protestant Subjects there, I cannot but again earnestly recommend the dispatch of that Expedition unto you: for it is the chiefe Businesse that at this time I take to heart; and there cannot, (almost) be any businesse that I can have more care of. I might now take-up some of your time in expressing my detestation of Rebellions in general, and of this in particular: But, knowing that Deeds, and not Declarations, must suppress this great Insolency, I do here, in

3 H

a word,

a word, offer you whatsoever my power, pains, or industry, can contribute to this good and necessary work of reducing the Irish Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

Concerning a Bill in
the House of Lords
for pressing Soldiers.

And, that nothing may be omitted on my part, I must here take notice of the Bill for pressing of Souldiers, now depending among you, my Lords; concerning which I here declare, That, in case it come so to Me as it may not infringe, or diminish, my Prerogative, I will passe it: And, further, seeing there is a dispute raised (I being little beholding to him whosoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this ancient and undoubted prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer, that the Bill may passe with a *Salvo jure*, both for King and People, leaving such debates to a time that may better bear it. If this be not accepted, the fault is not mine that this Bill passe not; but of those that refuse so fair an offer.

To conclude, I conjure you by all that is, or can be, deare to you or me, that, laying-away all Disputes, you goe-on cheerfully and speedily for the reducing of Ireland.

To the King's Most Excellent Majestie.

*The humble PETITION of the LORDS and COMMONS in PARLIAMENT,
concerning his MAJESTIE'S SPEECH of the 14th of December, 1641.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majestie's most humble and loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, doe, with all faithfulness and zeale to your Majestie's Service, acknowledge your Royal favour and protection to be a great blessing and security to them for the enjoying and preserving of all those publick and private Liberties and Priviledges which belong unto them; and, whensoever any of those Liberties or Priviledges shall be invaded or broken, they hold themselves bound, with humility and confidence, to resort to your Princely Justice for redresse and satisfaction. And, because the rights and Priviledges of Parliament are the Birth-right and Inheritance, not only of themselves, but of the whole Kingdom, wherein every one of your Subjects is interested; the maintenance and preservation whereof doth very highly conduce to the publick peace and prosperity of your Majesty and all your people; they conceive themselves more especially obliged, with all humbleness and care, yea, with all earnestnesse and constancy of resolution and endeavour, to maintain and defend the same. Amongst other the Priviledges of Parliament;

Priviledges of Parlia-
ment.

They do, with all dutiful reverence to your Most Excellent Majesty, declare that it is their ancient and undoubted Right; "That your Majesty ought not to take
"notice of any matter in agitation and debate in either of the Houses of Parliament,
"but by their information and agreement; and that your Majesty ought not to pro-
"pound any Condition, Provision, or Limitation, to any Bill, or Act, in debate, or
"preparation, in either House of Parliament; or to manifest, or declare, your consent,

"or

“ or dissent, approbation, or dislike, of the same, before it be presented to your Majesty in due course of Parliament: and that every particular Member of either House hath free libertie of speech to propound, or debate, in any matter according to the order and course of Parliament: and that your Majesty ought not to conceive displeasure against any man for such opinions and propositions as shall be delivered in such debate, it belonging to the several Houses of Parliament respectively to judge and determine such errors and offences in words or actions as shall be committed by any of their Members in the handling, or debating, any matters depending.”

They doe further declare, that all the Priviledges above-mentioned have been lately broken, to the great sorrow and grievance of your most humble and faithful Subjects, in that Speech which Your Majestie made in Parliament, to both Houses, upon Tuesday last the fourteenth of this present moneth of *December*, in that your Majesty did therein take notice of a Bill for impressing of Souldiers being in agitation in the said Houses, and not agreed-upon: and that your Majesty did therein offer a *Salvo jure*, or provisional Clause, to be added to that Bill before it was presented to your Majestie by the consent of both Houses, and did at the same time declare your displeasure against such persons as had moved some doubt, or question, concerning the same Bill. All which they doe affirm and declare to be against the ancient, lawful, and undoubted Priviledges and Liberties of Parliament.

And therefore they most humbly beseech your Majesty, by your Royal Power and Authority, to maintain and protect them in these and all other the Priviledges of your High Court of Parliament, and that you will not, for the time to come, break, or interrupt, the same. And that none of your loyal Subjects may suffer, or sustain, any prejudice in your Majestie's favour, or good opinion, for any thing done, or spoken, in Parliament. And, for the reparation of your loyal Subjects in this their just grievance and complaint, for the breaches of their Priviledges above-mentioned, and prevention of the like for the time to come; That your Majesty will be pleased to declare and make known the name or names of the person, or persons, by whose misinformation and evil counsel your Majesty was induced to the same; that so he, or they, may receive such condigne punishment as shall appertain to justice in that behalfe. And this they most humbly desire, and, as your greatest and most faithful Council, shall advise your Majesty to perform, as being that which will be not only a comfort to themselves, but likewise a great advantage to your Majesty, by procuring and confirming such a confidence and unity betwixt your Majesty and the People, as may be a foundation of Honour, safety, and happinesse to your Person and Throne, which they stand bound always to pray-for and endeavour.

The PETITION of the HOUSE of COMMONS, which accompanied the DECLARATION of the STATE of the KINGDOM, when it was presented to his MAJESTY at Hampton-Court.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majestie's Most humble and faithful Subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do, with much thankfulness and joy, acknowledge the

great mercy and favour of God, in giving your Majesty a safe and peaceable return out of *Scotland* into your Kingdom of *England*, where the pressing dangers and distempers of the State have caused us with much earnestnesse to desire the comfort of your gracious presence, and likewise the Unitie and Justice of your Royal Authority to give more life and power to the dutifull and loyal Counsels and endeavours of your Parliament, for the prevention of that eminent ruine and destruction wherein your Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* are threatened. The duty which we owe to your Majesty and our Country, cannot but make us very sensible and apprehensive, that the multiplicity, sharpnesse, and malignity, of those evils under which we have now many yeeres suffered, are fomented and cherished by a corrupt and ill-affected party, who, amongst other their mischievous devices for the alteration of Religion and Government, have sought, by many false scandals and imputations, cunningly insinuated and dispersed amongst the people, to blemish and disgrace our proceedings in this Parliament, and to get themselves a party and faction amongst your Subjects, for the better strengthening of themselves in their wicked courses, and hindering those provisions and Remedies which might, by the wisdom of your Majesty and Counsel of your Parliament, be opposed against them.

The Necessity of making to the King a Declaration of the State of the Kingdom.

For preventing whereof, and for the better information of your Majesty, your Peers, and all other your loyal Subjects, wee have been necessitated to make a Declaration of the state of the Kingdom, both before and since the Assembly of this Parliament, unto this time ; which we do humbly present to your Majesty without the least intention to lay any blemish upon your Royal Person, but only to represent how your Royal Authority and trust have been abused, to the great prejudice and danger of your Majesty, and of all your good Subjects.

And, because we have reason to believe that those malignant parties whose proceedings evidently appear to be, mainly for the advantage and encrease of Popery, are composed, set up, and acted by the subtile practice of the Jesuits, and other Engineers and Factors for *Rome* ; and, to the great danger of this Kingdom, and most grievous affliction of your loyal Subjects, have so far prevailed as to corrupt divers of your Bishops, and others in prime places of the Church, and also to bring divers of these Instruments to be of your Privy Council, and [to be advanced to] other employments of trust and neernesse about your Majestie, the Prince, and the rest of your Royal children : And, by this means, they have had such an operation in your Council, and the most important affaires and proceedings of your Government, that a most dangerous division and chargeable preparation for war betwixt your Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, the increase of Jealousies betwixt your Majesty and your most obedient Subjects, the violent distraction and interruption of this Parliament, the insurrection of the Papists in your Kingdom of *Ireland*, and bloody Massacre of your people, have been not only endeavoured and attempted, but, in a great measure, compassed and effected :

For

For preventing the final accomplishments whereof, your poor Subjects are enforced to engage their persons and estates to the maintaining of a very expenceful and dangerous War, notwithstanding they have already, since the beginning of this Parliament, undergone the charge of 150,000 pounds sterling, or thereabouts, for the necessary support and supply of your Majesty in these present and perilous designs. And, because all our most faithful endeavours and engagements will be ineffectual for the peace, safety, and preservation of your Majesty and your people, if some present, real and effectual course be not taken for suppressing this wicked and malignant party;

We, your most humble and obedient Subjects, doe, with all faithfulness and humility, beseech your Majesty;

1. That you will be graciously pleased to concur with the humble desires of your people in a Parliamentary way, for the preserving the peace and safety of the Kingdom from the malicious Designs of the Popish party.

For depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate power, usurped over the Clergy and other your good Subjects, which they have most perniciously abused, to the hazard of Religion, and great prejudice and oppression of the Laws of the Kingdom, and the just liberty of your people.

For the taking-away such oppressions in Religion, Church-government, and Discipline, as have been brought in and fomented by them.

For uniting all such of your loyal Subjects together as join in the same fundamental truths, against the Papists, by removing some oppressions and unnecessary Ceremonies, by which divers weak consciences have been scrupled, and seeme to be divided from the rest; for the due execution of those good Laws which have been made for securing the liberty of your Subjects.

2. That your Majesty will likewise be pleased to remove from your Council all such as persist to favour and promote any of those pressures and corruptions wherewith your people have been grieved; and that, for the future, your Majesty will vouchsafe to employ such persons in your great and publick Affairs, and to take such to be neere you in places of trust, as your Parliament may have cause to confide in; and that, in your Princely goodnesse to your people, you will reject and refuse all mediation and solicitation to the contrary, how powerful and neere soever.

3. That you will be pleased to forbear to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated Lands in *Ireland* which shall accrue to your Crown by reason of this Rebellion; that, out of them, the Crown may be the better supported, and some satisfaction may be made to your Subjects of this Kingdom for the great expences they are like to undergo by this War.

Which humble desires of ours being graciously fulfilled by your Majesty, we will, by the blessing and favour of God, most cheerfully undergo the hazard and expences

expences of this War, and apply ourselves to such other courses and counsels as may support your Royal estate with honour and plenty at home, with power and reputation abroad, and, by our loyal affections, obedience, and service, lay a sure and lasting foundation of the greatnesse and prosperity of your Majesty, and your Royal posterity in future times.

A REMONSTRANCE of the STATE of the KINGDOM,

Die Mercurii, 15 Decembris, 1641.

That there is a malignant Party in the Kingdom that endeavours to disappoint the measures proposed by the Parliament for the Publick Good.

THE *Commons* in this present Parliament assembled, having with much earnestnesse, and faithfulness of affection, and zeal to the publike good of this Kingdom, and His Majestie's honour and service, for the space of twelve moneths, wrestled with the great dangers and fears, the pressing miseries and calamities, the various distempers and disorders, which had not only assaulted, but even overwhelmed and extinguished, the liberty, peace, and prosperity of this Kingdom, and the comfort and hopes of all His Majestie's good Subjects, and exceedingly weakened and undermined the foundation and strength of his own Royal Throne; Do yet finde an abounding malignity and opposition in those parties, and factions, who have been the cause of those evils, and do still labour to cast aspersions upon that which hath been done, and to raise many difficulties for the hinderance of that which remains yet undone, and, to foment Jealousies betwixt the King and the Parliament; That so they may deprive him, and his people, of the fruit of his own gracious Intentions, and their humble desires of procuring the publike peace, safety, and happinesse of this Realme. For the preventing of those miserable effects, which such malicious endeavours may produce, We have thought good to declare.

1. *The Root, and the growth of these mischievous designes.*
2. *The Maturity and Ripenesse, to which they had attained before the beginning of the Parliament.*
3. *The effectual means which hath been used for the extirpation of those dangerous evils, and the Progresse which hath therein been made by His Majestie's goodnesse, and the Wisdom of the Parliament.*
4. *The ways of obstruction and opposition, by which that Progresse hath been interrupted.*
5. *The courses to be taken for the removing those Obstacles, and for the accomplishing of our most dutiful and faithful intentions and endeavours, of restoring and establishing the Ancient Honour, Greatnesse, and Security of this Crowne and Nation.*

The

The Root of all this mischief, We finde to be a malignant and pernicious designe, of subverting the Fundamental Laws, and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of this Kingdom are firmly established. The Actors and Promoters hereof have been;

1. *The Jesuited Papists, who hate the Laws, as being the Obstacles of that change and Subversion of Religion which they so much long for.* The persons who compose the said Party.
2. *The Bishops, and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who cherish formality and superstition, as the natural effects, and more probable supports, of their own Ecclesiastical Tyranny and Usurpation.*
3. *Such Counsellors and Courtiers as, for private ends, have engaged themselves to further the interests of some foreign Princes, or States, to the prejudice of His Majesty and the State at home.*

The common Principles, by which they moulded and governed all their particular Counsels and Actions, were these. The Principles, and Counsels, by which the said persons are governed.

First, To maintain continuall differences and contentions betwixt the King and the People, upon Questions of Prerogative and Liberty; that so they might have the advantage of finding, with him, and under the notion of men addicted to his service, gain to themselves and their parties, and the places of greatest trust and power in the Kingdom.

A second, To suppress the purity and power of Religion, and such as were best-affected to it; as being contrary to their own ends, and the greatest impediment to that change which they thought to introduce.

A third, To conjoin those parties of the Kingdom which were most propitious to their own ends, and to divide those who were most opposite to them; which consisted in many particular Observations; namely, to cherish the Arminian party in those points wherein they agree with the Papists; to multiply and enlarge the differences between the common Protestants and those whom they call Puritans; to introduce and countenance such opinions and Ceremonies as are fittest for accommodation with Popery; to encrease and maintain ignorance, loosenesse, and prophanenesse, in the people: That of those three parties, Papists, Arminians, and Libertines, they might compose a body fit to act such Counsels and resolutions as were most conducive to their own ends.

A fourth, to disaffect the King to Parliaments by slanders and false imputations

putations, and by putting him upon other ways of supply, which, in shew and appearance, were fuller of advantage than the ordinary course of Subsidies, though, in truth, they brought more losse than gain, both to the King and the People, and have caused the distractions under which we both suffer.

The Counsels of Jesuits in favour of the Popish Religion.

As in all compounded bodies, the Operations are qualified according to the predominant Element; So in this mixt party, the Jesuited Counsels, being most active and prevailing, may easily be discovered to have had the greatest sway in all their determinations, and, if they be not prevented, are likely to devour the rest, or to turn them into their own nature.

In the beginning of His Majestie's Reign, the party began to revive and flourish again, having been somewhat damp't by the breach with *Spain* in the last year of King *James*, and by his Majestie's Marriage with *France*; the interests and Counsels of that State being not so contrary to the good of Religion, and the prosperity of this Kingdome, as those of *Spain*; and the Papists of *England*, having been ever more addicted to *Spain* than to *France*: yet they still retained a purpose and resolution to weaken the Protestant parties in all parts, and even in *France*, whereby to make way for the change of Religion, which they intended at home.

The effects of those Counsels.

The first effect and evidence of their recovery and strength was the dissolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, after there had been given two Subsidies to His Majesty, and before they had received relief in any one Grievance: many other more miserable effects followed.

The destruction of the Rochell Fleet.

N. B.

The losse of the *Rochel* Fleet, by the help of our shipping, set forth and delivered over to the *French*, in opposition to the advice of Parliament: which left that Town without defence by Sea, and made way not only to the losse of that important place, but likewise to the losse of all the strength and security of the Protestant Religion in *France*.

The diverting of His Majestie's course of wars from attacks on the *West-Indies*, (which was the most facile and hopeful way for this Kingdom to prevail against the Spaniard,) to an expenceful and successless attempt upon *Cales*; which was so ordered as if it had rather been intended to make us weary of the Warre than to prosper in it.

The precipitate breach with *France*, by taking their Ships to a great value; without making recompence to the English, whose goods were thereupon imbar'd and confiscated in that Kingdom.

The Peace with *Spain* without consent of Parliament, contrary to the promise of King *James* to both Houses; whereby the *Palatine* Cause was deserted, and left to chargeable and hopelesse Treaties; which, for the most part, were managed by those who might justly be suspected to be no Friends to that Cause.

The charging of the Kingdom with Billited Souldiers in all parts of it, and that Concomitant designe of Germane Horse; that the Land might either submit with fear

fear, or be enforced, with rigour, to such Arbitrary Contributions as should be required of them.

The dissolving of the Parliament in the second year of His Majestie's Reign, after a Declaration of their intent to grant five Subsidies.

The untimely Dissolution of a second Parliament.

The exacting of the like proportion of five Subsidies, after the Parliament was dissolved, by Commission of Loan; and divers Gentlemen, and others, imprisoned for not yielding to pay that Loan; whereby many of them contracted such sicknesses as cost them their lives. Great summes of Money required, and raised by Privy-Seals. An unjust and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the Subject, by way of Excise; and a Commission issued under Seale to that purpose. The Petition of Right, (which was granted in full Parliament,) blasted with an illegal Declaration, to make it destructive to itself, to the power of Parliament, and to the Liberty of the Subject, and to that purpose printed with it; and the Petition made of no use, but to shew the bold and presumptuous injustice of such Ministers as durst break the Laws, and suppress the Liberties of the Kingdom, after they had been so solemnly and evidently declared.

Another Parliament dissolved, 4 Car. and the priviledge of Parliament broken by imprisoning divers Members of the House, detaining them close prisoners for many moneths together, without the liberty of using Books, Pen, Inke, or Paper, denying them all the comforts of life, all means of preservation of health, not permitting their wives to come unto them even in time of their sicknesse. And, for the compleating of that cruelty, after yeers spent in such miserable durance, depriving them of the necessary means of Spiritual consolation; not suffering them to go-abroad to enjoy God's Ordinances in God's House, or God's Ministers to come to them, to administer comfort unto them in their private Chambers: and, to keep them still in this oppressed condition, not admitting them to be bailed according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in inferiour Courts, sentencing and fining some of them for matters done in Parliament, and extorting the payments of those Fines from them; and enforcing others to put-in security of good behaviour, before they could be released.

A third Parliament dissolved with harshness; followed by illegal and cruel imprisonments of several of the most eminent Members of it.

N. B.

The imprisonment of the rest, who refused to be bound, still continued; which might have been perpetual, if necessity had not, the last yeer, brought another Parliament to relieve them; of whom, one* died, by the cruelty and harshnesse of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithstanding the imminent danger of his life did sufficiently appeare by the declaration of his Physician; And his release, or, at least, his refreshment, was sought by many humble Petitions. And his blood still cries, either for vengeance, or repentance of those Ministers of State, who are, at once, obstructors of the course, both of his Majestie's Justice and his Mercy.

Upon the dissolution of both these Parliaments, untrue and scandalous Declarations were published, to asperse their proceedings, and some of their Members, unjustly to make them odious, and colour the violence which was used against them.

* Sir John Elliot. See above, page 9.

The King governs the Nation during several years without a Parliament, and raises money by various illegal and oppressive methods.

Ship-money.

Monopolies.

Proclamation set-out to the same purpose; and, to the great dejecting of the hearts of the people, forbidding them even to speak of Parliaments.

After the breach of the Parliament, in the fourth year of His Majesty, Injustice, Oppression, and Violence, broke-in upon us, without any restraint, or moderation. And yet the first project, (which was the great summes exacted throughout the whole Kingdom for default of Knighthood,) seemed to have some colour and shadow of a Law: But, if it be rightly examined by that obsolete Law which was pretended for it, it would be found to be against all the rules of Justice, both, in respect of the persons charged, the proportion of the Fines demanded, and the absurd and unreasonable manner of their proceedings. Tonnage and Poundage hath beene received without colour, or pretence, of Law: many other heavy impositions continued against Law; and some so unreasonable, that the summe of the charge exceeds the value of the Goods. The Booke of Rates lately enhanced to a high proportion; and such Merchants as would not submit to their illegal and unreasonable payments, were vexed and oppressed above measure; and the ordinary course of Justice, the common Birth-right of the Subject of *England*, wholly obstructed unto them. And, although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea, yet a new and unheard-of Tax of Ship-money was devised, upon the same pretence. By both which, there was charged upon the Subject near 700,000 pounds some yeers; and yet the Merchants have been left so naked to the violence of the Turkish Pirates, that many great Ships of value, and thousands of His Majestie's Subjects, have been taken by them, and do still remain in miserable slavery.

The enlargement of Forests, contrary to *Charta-de Foresta*, and the composition thereupon. The exactions of Coat and Conduct-money, and divers other Military charges. The taking-away the Armes of the Trained-Bands of divers Counties. The desperate designe of engrossing all the Gun-powder into one hand; keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and setting so high a Rate upon it that the poorer sort were not able to buy it; nor could any have it without License; thereby to leave the several parts of the Kingdome destitute of their necessary defence; and, by selling so dear that which was sold, to make an unlawful advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the Subject, the general destruction of the King's Timber, especially that in the Forrest of *Dean*, sold to Papists, which was the best Store-house of this Kingdome, for the maintenance of our Shipping. The taking-away of men's right, under colour of the King's title, to Land between high and low-water-Marks. The Monopolies of Soape, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-cole, and, in a manner, of all things of most common and necessary use. The restraint of the Liberties of the Subjects in their habitation, Trades, and other Interest. Their vexation and oppression by Purveyors, Clerks of the Market, and Salt-Peter-men. The sale of pretended Nuzances, as Buildings in and about *London*, conversion of Arable into Pasture, continuance of Pasture, under the name of depopulation, have drawn many Millions out of the Subjects Purses, without any considerable

derable profit to his Majesty. Large quantities of Common, and several Grounds, have been taken from the Subject, by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by abuse of the Commission of Sewers, without their consent, and against it. And not only private Interest, but also the publike Faith hath been broken, in seizing of the Money and Bullion in the Mint; and the whole Kingdom like to be robbed at once, in that abominable project of Brasse-Money. Great numbers of His Majesty's Subjects, for refusing those unlawful charges, have been vexed with long and expensive suits; some fined and censured, others committed to long and hard imprisonments and confinements, to the losse of health of many, of life in some; and others have had their houses broken-up, their goods seized; some have been restrained from their lawful Callings: Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages, surprized at Sea in an Hostile manner by Projectors, as by a common Enemy: Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in such Ports as were for their own advantage, and forced to bring them to those places which were most for the advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors. The Court of Star-chamber hath abounded in extravagant censures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawful taxes; but for divers other Causes, where there hath been no offence, or very small; whereby His Majesty's Subjects have been oppressed by grievous Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Banishments; after so rigid a manner as hath not only deprived men of the society of their friends, exercise of their professions, comfort of Books, use of Paper or Ink, but even violated that near Union which God hath established betwixt Men and their Wives, by forced and constrained separation; whereby they have been bereaved of the comfort and conversation one of another, for many yeers together without hope of relief; if God had not by his over-ruling Providence, given some interruption to the prevailing power and Counsell of those who were the Authors and Promoters of such peremptory and heady courses.

Oppression of the people by cruel sentences of the Court of Star-Chamber.

Judges have been put out of their places, for refusing to do against their Oaths and consciences: Others have been so awed, that they durst not do their duties, and, the better to hold a rod over them, the Clause *Quam diu se bene gesserit*, was left out of their Patents, and a new Clause, *Durante bene placito*, inserted. Lawyers have been checked, for being faithful to their clients; Solicitors and Attorneys have been threatened, and some punished for following lawful Suits: And by this means all the approaches to Justice were interrupted and forecluded. New Oaths have been forced upon the Subject against Law; new Judicatories erected without Law: The Council-Table have, by their Orders, offered to bind the Subjects in their Freeholds, Estates, Suits, and Actions. The pretended Court of the Earl-Marshal was Arbitrary, and illegal in its being, and proceedings. The Chancery, Exchequer-chamber, Court of Wards, and other English Courts have been grievous in exceeding their Jurisdictions. The estates of many Families have been weakened; and some ruined by excessive Fines, exacted from them for Compositions of Wardships. All Leases of above a hundred years have been made to draw-on

The Courts of Justice were employed as instruments of oppression.

Wardship contrary to Law. Undue proceedings used in the finding of Offices, to make the Jury finde for the King. The Common-law Courts, seeing all Men more inclined to seek Justice there, where it may be fitted to their own desire, are known frequently to forsake the Rules of the Common-law, and straining beyond their bounds, under pretence of equity, to do Injustice. Titles of Honour, Judicial places, Serjeantships at Law, and other Offices, have been sold for great summes of money; whereby the common Justice of the Kingdom hath been much endangered, not only by opening a way of employment, in places of great trust and advantage, to Men of weak parts; but also by giving occasion to Bribery, Extortion, and Partiality; It seldom happening that places ill-gotten are well-used. Commissions have been granted for examining the excesse of Fees: and, when great exactions have been discovered, Compositions have been made with Delinquents, not only for the time past, but likewise for immunity and security in offending for the time to come; which, under colour of remedy, hath but confirmed and increased the Grievance to the Subject. The usual course of pricking Sheriffs hath been not observed, but many times Sheriffs have been made in an extraordinary way; some-times as a punishment and charge unto them; sometimes such were pricked-out as would be Instruments to execute whatsoever they would have to be done.

Fees.

The High Commission Court.

The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy did triumph in the Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations, of divers painful, learned, and pious Ministers, in the vexation and grievous oppression of great numbers of His Majestie's good Subjects. The High-Commission grew to such excesse of sharpnesse and severity as was not much lesse than the Romish Inquisition; and yet in many cases, by the Archbishop's power, was made much more heavy, being assisted and strengthened by authority of the Council-Table.

The Bishops Courts.

The Bishops, and their Courts, were as eager in the Country; and, although their Jurisdiction could not reach so high in rigour and extremity of punishment, yet were they no lesse grievous, in respect of the generality and multiplicity of vexations, which, lighting upon the meaner sort of Tradesmen and Artificers, did impoverish many thousands, and so afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miseries, departed out of the Kingdome, some into *New-England* and other parts of *America*, and others into *Holland*, where they have transported their Manufactures of Cloth; which is not only a losse by diminishing the present stock of the Kingdom, but a great mischief by impairing and endangering the losse of that peculiar Trade of Cloathing, which hath been a plentiful Fountain of Wealth and Honour to this Nation. Those were [thought] fittest for Ecclesiastical preferments, and soonest obtained them, who were most officious in promoting Superstition, and most virulent in rayling against Godlinesse and Honesty.

The most publike and solemne Sermons before His Majesty were, either to advance Prerogative above Law, and Decry the property of the Subject, or were full of such kind of invectives whereby they might make those odious who sought to maintain the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdome; and such men were sure to be weeded out of the Commission of the Peace, and out of all other employments

employments of power in the government of the Country. Many noble Personages were Councillors in name; but the power and authority remained in a few of such as were most addicted to this party; whose resolutions and determinations were brought to the Table for countenance and execution, and not for debate and deliberation; and no man could offer to oppose them, without disgrace and hazard to himself: Nay all those that did not wholly concur and actively contribute to the furtherance of their designs, (though otherwise persons of never so great Honour and Abilities) were so far from being employed in any place of Trust and power, that they were neglected, discountenanced, and, upon all occasions, injured and oppressed. This Faction was grown to that height and entireness of power, that now they began to think of finishing their Work, which consisted of these three parts.

1. *The Government must be set-free from all restraint of Laws, concerning our Persons and Estates.*

2. *There must be a Conjunction betwixt Papists and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies; only it must not yet be called Poperie.*

3. *The Puritans, (under which name they include all those that desire to preserve the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdome, and to maintain Religion in the power of it;) must be either rooted-out of the Kingdome with force, or driven-out with feare. For the effecting of this it was thought necessary to reduce Scotland to such Popish Superstitions and Innovations as might make them apt to joyne with England in that great change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons, and a new Liturgie, were pressed upon them; and, when they refused to admit of them, an Army was raised to force them to it, towards which the Clergie and the Papists were very forward in their contributions. The Scots likewise raised an Army for their defence; And, when both Armies were come together, and ready for a bloody encounter, His Majestie's own gracious disposition and the Counsel of the English Nobilitie, and dutiful submission of the Scots, did so far prevail against the evil Counsel of others, that a Pacification was made, and His Majestie returned with Peace and much honour to London.*

The King attempts to introduce a new Liturgy into Scotland, in the year 1637. And raises an English Army to enforce it.

The Scots raise an Army for their defence.

The unexpected reconciliation was most acceptable to all the Kingdom, except A Pacification. to the malignant party, whereof the Archbishop and the Earle of Strafford being heads, they and their faction begun to inveigh against the Peace, and to aggravate the proceedings of the States, which so incensed his Majesty that he forthwith prepared again for War. And such was their confidence, that, having corrupted and distempered the whole frame and Government of the Kingdom, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the only means to restore all to a right frame and temper

The King breaks the Pacification, and makes war upon the Scots.

The Earle of Strafford raises an Army in Ireland, consisting principally of Papists, to be employed against the Scots.

The King called a Parliament at London on the 13th of April, 1640, hoping to receive Subsidies from them to be employed against the Scots.

But dissolved it on the following 5th of May.

temper again: to which end they perswaded His Majesty to call a Parliament, not to seeke counsel and advice of them, but to draw countenance and supply from them, and engage the whole Kingdom in their Quarrel: and, in the mean time, continued all their unjust Levies of Money, resolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to establish mischief by a Law, or else to break it; and with more colour to go on by violence, to take what they could not obtain by consent. The ground alledged for the justification of this War was this.

That the undutiful demands of the Parliament of *Scotland*, was a sufficient reason for His Majesty to take Arms against them, without hearing the Reason of those Demands; And thereupon a new Army was prepared against them, their Ships were seized in all Ports, both of *England* and *Ireland*, and at Sea; Their Petitions were rejected, and their Commissioners refused Audience. This whole Kingdom was most miserably distempered with Levies of Men and Money, and Imprisonments of those who denied to submit to those Levies. The Earle of *Strafford* past into *Ireland*, caused the Parliament there to declare against the *Scots*, to give four Subsidies towards that War; and to engage themselves, their lives and fortunes, for the prosecution of it, and gave directions for an Army of eight thousand foot, and one thousand horse, to be levied there, which were, for the most part, Papists. The Parliament met upon the thirteenth of *April*, one thousand, six hundred, and forty. The Earle of *Strafford*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with their Party, so prevailed with His Majesty, that the *House of Commons* was pressed to yield to a Supply for maintenance of the War with *Scotland*, before they had provided any reliefe for the great and pressing Grievances of the people, which, being against the fundamental Priviledge and proceeding of Parliament, was yet, in humble respect to his Majesty, so far admitted as that they agreed to take the matter of Supply into consideration, and two several days it was debated. Twelve Subsidies were demanded for the release of Ship-money alone; A third day was appointed for Conclusion, when the Heads of that Party began to feare the people might close with the King in satisfying his desire of Money: But that, withal, they were likely to blast their malicious designs against *Scotland*, finding them very much indisposed to give any countenance to that War.

Thereupon they wickedly advised the King to break-off the Parliament, and to return to the ways of Confusion, in which their owne evil intentions were most like to prosper and succeed.

After the Parliament ended the fifth of *May*, one thousand, six hundred, and forty, this Party grew so bold, as to counsel the King to Supply Himself out of His Subjects' estates by his own Power, at his own Will, without their consent. The very next day, some *Members of both Houses* had their Studies and Cabinets, yea their Pockets, searched: Another of them, not long after, was committed close prisoner, for not delivering some Petitions which he received by authority of that *House*, and, if harsher courses were intended, (as was reported) it is very probable that the sickness of the Earle of *Strafford*, and the Tumultuous rising in *Southwarke*, and about *Lambeth*, were the causes that such violent intentions were

were not brought to execution. A false and scandalous Declaration against the *House of Commons*, was published in His Majestie's Name, which yet wrought little effect with the people, but only to manifest the impudence of those who were Authors of it.

A forced Loan of money was attempted in the City of *London*.

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in their several Wards, were enjoined to bring in a List of the Names of such persons as they judged fit to lend, and of the sums they should lend. And such Aldermen as refused so to doe, were committed to prison.

The King and the Bishops again resolve to make war upon the Scots.

The *Archbishop* and the other *Bishops* and *Clergie* continued the *Convocation*, and, by a new Commission, turned it to a *Provincial-Synod*, in which, by an unheard-of presumption, they made *Canons* that containe in them many matters contrary to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of the Realme, to the right of *Parliaments*, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence, thereby establishing their own Usurpations, justifying their Altar-worship, and those other superstitious Innovations, which they formerly introduced without warrant of Law.

The Convocation of the Clergie continued to sit after the dissolution of the Parliament, and made new Canons of the Church.

They imposed a new Oath upon divers of His Majestie's Subjects both *Ecclesiastical* and *Lay*, for maintenance of their own Tyranny; and laid a great Tax upon the Clergie for Supply of his Majesty; and generally they shewed themselves very affectionate to the War with *Scotland*, which was, by some of them, styled *Bellum Episcopale*; and a Prayer was composed, and enjoined to be read in all Churches, calling the *Scots Rebels*, to put the two Nations into blood, and make them irreconcilable. All those pretended *Canons* and *Constitutions* were armed with the several Censures of *Suspension*, *Excommunication*, and *Deprivation*, by which they would have thrust-out all the good Ministers, and most of the well-affected people of the Kingdome, and left an easy passage to their owne Designe of Reconciliation with *Rome*. The *Popish* party enjoined such Exemptions from the *Penal Laws*, as amounted to a Toleration, besides many other encouragements, and Court-favours: They had a Secretary of State, Sir *Francis Windibank*, a powerful Agent for the speeding of all their desires; and a *Pope's Nuntio*, residing here, to act and governe them according to such influences as he received from *Rome*, and to intercede for them with the most powerful concurrence of the forreigne Princes of that Religion. By his authority the *Papists* of all sorts, Nobility, Gentry and Clergie, were convoked after the manner of a *Parliament*; new Jurisdictions were erected of *Romish Archbishops*, Taxes levied, another State moulded within this State, independant in Government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant, or negligent, professors of our Religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as were sound; in this posture waiting for an opportunitie by force to destroy those whom they could not hope to seduce. For the effecting whereof, they were strengthend with Armes and Munition, encouraged by superstitious Prayers, enjoined by the *Nuncio* to be weekly made for the prosperity

Dangerous meetings of the Papists by the authority of the Pope's Nuncio.

The Scots enter
England with an
Army, and take pos-
session of Newcastle.

The King then
agreed upon a ces-
sation of arms with
the Scots, and called
the present Parlia-
ment, which met at
Westminster on the
3d of November,
1640.

prosperity of some great designe. And such power had they at Court, that secretly a Commission was issued-out, intended to be issued to some great Men of that profession for the levying of Souldiers, and to command and employ them according to private Instructions, which, we doubt, were framed for the advantage of those who were the contrivers of them: His Majestie's Treasure was consumed, his Revenue anticipated, His Servants and Officers compelled to lend great sums of money; Multitudes were called to the *Council-Table*, who were tired with long attendance there, for refusing illegal payments. The *Prisons* were filled with their Commitments; many of the Sheriffs summoned into the *Star-Chamber*, and some imprisoned for not being quick enough in levying the Ship-money; the people languished under grief and feare, no visible hope being left, but in desperation. The Nobility began to be weary of their silence and patience, and sensible of the duty and trust which belongs to them: and thereupon some of the most eminent of them did petition His Majesty at such a time, when evil Counsels were so strong that they had reason to expect more hazard to themselves than redresse of those publick evils for which they interceded. Whilest the Kingdom was in this agitation and distemper, the *Scots*, (who were restrained in their trades, impoverished by the loss of many of their Ships, and bereaved of all possibility of satisfying His Majesty by any naked Supplication,) entered with a powerful Army into the Kingdom, and, (without any hostile Act, or spoile, in the Country, as they passed, more than forcing a passage over the *Tyne* at *Newborne* neer *Newcastle*,) possessed themselves of *Newcastle*, and had a faire opportunitie to presse-on further upon the King's Army: But duty and reverence to His Majesty, and brotherly love to the *English* Nation, made them stay there: whereby the King had leisure to entertain better Counsels; where-in God so blessed and directed him, that he summoned the great Council of Peers to meet at *Yorke*, upon the twenty-fourth of *September*, and there declared a *Parliament* to begin the third of *November* then following. The *Scots*, the first day of the great Council, presented an humble Petition to His Majesty; whereupon the Treaty was appointed at *Rippon*, a present Cessation of Armes agreed-upon, and the full Conclusion of all differences referred to the wisdom and care of the *Parliament*. At our first meeting all Oppositions seemed to vanish; the mischiefs were so evident, which those evil Counsellors had produced, that no Man durst stand-up to defend them. Yet the worke itself afforded difficulty enough. The multiplied evils and corruption of sixteene yeeres, strengthened by custome and authority, and the concurrent interest of many powerful Delinquents, were now to be brought to judgement and reformation. The King's Houshold was to be provided for: they having brought him to that want that he could not supply his ordinary and necessary expences, without the assistance of his people. Two Armies were to be payed, which amounted very neer to eighty thousand pounds a moneth; the people were to be tenderly charged, having been formerly exhausted with many burthensome Projects.

The difficulties seemed to be insuperable, which by the Divine Providence wee have overcome. The Contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great measure we have

have reconciled. Six Subsidies have been granted, and a Bill of Poll money, which, if it be duly levied, may equal six Subsidies more; in all six hundred thousand pounds. Besides we have contracted a Debt to the *Scots* of 220 thousand pounds; and yet God has so blessed the endeavours of this *Parliament*, that the Kingdom is a great gainer by all these charges. The Ship-money is abolished, which cost the Kingdom above two hundred thousand pounds a-year. The Coat and Conduct-money, and other military charges, are taken-away. which, in many Countries, amounted to little lesse than the Ship-money. The Monopolies are all suppressed, whereof some few did prejudice the Subject, above a Million yearly. The Soap an hundred thousand pounds; the Wine three hundred thousand pounds; the Leather must needs exceed both: and Salt could be no lesse than that; besides the inferiour Monopolies, which, if they could be exactly computed, would make up a great summe. That which is more beneficial than all this is, that the root of these evils is taken-away; which was "the arbitrary power, pretended to be in his Majesty, of taxing the Subjects, or charging their estates, without consent in *Parliament*," which is now declared to be against Law, by the Judgement of both *Houses*, and likewise by an Act of *Parliament*. Another step of great advantage is this: the living Grievances, the evil Counselors and Actors of these mischiefs, have been so quelled, by the justice done upon the Earle of *Strafford*, the flight of the Lord *Finch* and Secretary *Windibank*, the accusation and imprisonment of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and of Judge *Bartlet*, and the impeachment of divers other Bishops and Judges, that it is like not onely to be an ease to the present times, but a preservation to the future.

The discontinuance of *Parliaments* is prevented by the Bill for a *Triennial Parliament*; and the abrupt dissolution of this *Parliament* is prevented by another Bill; by which it is provided, that it shall not be dissolved, or adjourned, without the consent of both *Houses*.

Which two Laws, well-considered, may be thought more advantageous than all the former; because they secure a full operation of the present remedy, and afford a perpetual Spring of remedies for the future.

The Star-chamber, the High-Commission, and the Court of the President and Council in the North, were so many forges of misery, oppression, and violence; and are all taken-away: whereby men are more secured in their persons, liberties, and estates, than they could be by any Law, or Example, for the regulation of those Courts, or Terrour of the Judges.

The immoderate power of the *Council-Table*, and the excessive abuse of that power, is so ordered and restrained, that we may well hope that no such things as were frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the publick liberty, will be known in future times any otherwise than by history, to give us and our posterity more occasion to praise God for His Majestie's goodness, and the faithful endeavours of this *Parliament*. The *Canons*, and the *Canon-making*, are blasted by the Vote of both *Houses*.

The exorbitant power of *Bishops*, and their Courts, are much abated, by some Provisions in the Bill against the *High Commission-Court*. The Authors of the many Innovations in Doctrine and Ceremonies, and the Ministers that have been scandalous in their lives; have been so terrified by just complaints and accusations,

that we may well hope they will be more modest for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the sight of their own folly, or outwardly restrained by the fear of punishment.

The *Forests* are, by a good Law, reduced to their right bounds; The encroachments and oppressions of the *Stannarie Courts*; The Extortions of the *Clerke* of the Market; and the compulsion of the Subject to receive the Order of Knighthood against his will, by paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of those Fines, are by other beneficial Laws reformed and prevented

Many excellent Lawes and provisions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation, and usurpation of *Bishops*; for reforming the pride and idleness of many of the *Clergie*; for easing the people of unnecessary Ceremonies in Religion; for censuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Ministers; and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the Kingdom.

Other things of main importance for the good of this Kingdom, are in proposition, though little could hitherto be done in regard of the many other more pressing businesses; which yet, before the end of this Session, we hope, may receive some progress and perfection.

The establishing and ordering the King's Revenue, that so the abuse of Officers, and superfluity of expences, may be cut-off, and the necessary disbursements for his Majestie's Honour, and the defence and government of the Kingdom, may be more certainly provided-for.

The regulating of Courts of Justice, and abridging both the delays and charges of Law-suits; The settling of some good courses for preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, and the inequality of exchanges betwixt us and other Nations; for the advancing of native Commodities, the increase of our Manufactures, and the well-ballancing of Trade, whereby the Stock of the Kingdom may be increased, or, at least, kept from impairing, as, through neglect hereof, it hath done for many years last past: For improving the Herring-fishing upon our own Coasts; which will be of mighty use in the employment of the poore, and a plentiful Nursery of Mariners for enabling the Kingdome in any great Action.

The obstructions which the Parliament has met with in their work of reformation.

The oppositions, obstructions, and other Difficulties, wherewith we have been encountered, and which still lie in our way, with some strength and much obstinacy, are these: The malignant Party (whom we have formerly described to be the Actors and Promoters of all our misery) have taken heart again; They have been able to prefer some of their own Factors and Agents to degrees of honour, to places of trust and employment, even during the *Parliament*. They have endeavoured to work in his Majesty ill impressions and opinions of Our Proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own work and not His, and had obtained from him many things very prejudicial to the Crown, both in respect of Prerogative and Profit. To wipe-out this slander, Wee think good only to say thus much: That all that Wee have done, is for His Majesty, His Greatnesse, Honour, and Support: when Wee yield to give twenty-five thousand pounds a moneth for the reliefe of the Northern Countries, this was given to the King: for he was bound to protect his Subjects. The persons who made it necessary for us to incur these enormous expences were his Majestie's evil Counsellours, and their ill instruments, that were

Actors

Actors in those grievances which brought-in the *Scots*: and, if His Majesty should please to force those who were the Authors of this War to make satisfaction, (as he might justly and easily do,) it seems very reasonable that the people might well be excused from taking upon them this burthen, being altogether innocent and free from being any causes of it.

When we undertook the charge of the Army, which cost above 50,000*l.* a moneth, was not this given to the King? was it not His Majesty's Army? were not all the Commanders under contract with His Majesty at higher rates and greater wages than ordinary? and have not we taken upon us to discharge all the brotherly assistance of three hundred thousand pounds, which we gave the *Scots*? was it not toward the repaire of those damages and losses which they received from the King's ships, and from his Ministers? These three particulars amount to above eleven hundred thousand pounds. Besides, his Majesty hath received, by impositions upon Merchandise, at least, four hundred thousand pounds; so that His Majesty hath had out of the Subjects purse, since the Parliament began, one Million and an half: and yet these men can be so impudent, as to tell his Majesty that we have done nothing for him. As to the second branch of this slander, we acknowledge, with much thankfulness, that His Majesty hath passed more good Bills to the advantage of his Subjects in this Parliament than have been passed in many ages; but, withal, we cannot forget, that these venomous counsels did manifest themselves, in some endeavours to hinder these good Acts from being passed: and, for both Houses of Parliament, we may with truth and modesty say thus much: "That we have ever been careful not to desire any thing that should weaken the Crown, either in just profit, or useful power." The triennial Parliament, for *the matter of it*, doth not extend to so much as by Law we ought to have required, there being two Statutes still in force for a Parliament to be once a-year; and for *the manner of it*, it is in the King's power, that it shall never take effect, if he, by a timely summons, shall prevent any other way of assembling. In the Bill for continuance of this present Parliament, there seems to be some restraint of the Royal Power in dissolving of Parliaments: but it is not to take it out of the Crown, but to suspend the execution of it for this time and occasion onely; which was so necessary for the King's own security, and the public Peace, that without it we could not have undertaken any of these great charges, but must have left both the Armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole Kingdome to blood and rapine. The Star-chamber was much more fruitful in oppression than in profit, the great fines being for the most part given-away, and the rest stalled at long times. The fines of the High-Commission were in themselves unjust, and seldome, or never, came into the King's Purse. These four Bills are particularly and more specially instanced: in the rest there will not be found so much as a shadow of prejudice to the Crown.

They have sought to diminish our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments: the aspersions which they have attempted this way, have been such as these; "That we have spent much time, and done little, especially in those grievances which concerne Religion. That the Parliament is a burthen to the Kingdom by the abundance of Protections, which hinder Justice and Trade; and, by the many Subsidies granted, which are much more heavy than any taxes they formerly endured;" to which there is a ready answer: If the time spent in this Parlia-

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ment be considered in relation backward to the long growth and deep root of those grievances which we have removed,—to the powerful supports of those Delinquents whom we have pursued,—to the great necessities and other charges of the Commonwealth, for which we have provided: or, if it be considered in relation forward to the many advantages, which not only the present, but future ages, are like to reap by the good Laws, and other proceedings, in this Parliament; we doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent Judgements, that our time hath been much better employed than a far greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put-together; and the charges which have been laid upon the Subject, and the other inconveniences which they have borne, will seem very light in respect of the benefit they have and may receive. And with respect to the matter of protections, the Parliament is so sensible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatsoever ease may stand with Honour and Justice: and are in a way of passing a Bill to give them satisfaction.

The same malignant party have sought, by many subtle practices, to cause jealousies and divisions betwixt us and our brethren of *Scotland*, by slandering their proceedings and intentions towards us, and by secret endeavours to instigate and incense them and us one against another. They have had such a party of Bishops and Popish Lords in the House of Peeres as hath caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of Delinquents, and hindered the proceedings of divers good Bills passed in the Commons-House, concerning there formation of sundry great abuses and corruptions both in Church and State.

They have laboured to seduce and corrupt some of the Commons-House, to draw them into conspiracies and combinations against the liberty of the Parliament: And, by their instruments and agents, they have attempted to dis-affect and discontent His Majestie's Army, and to engage it for the maintenance of their wicked and traiterous designs, the keeping-up of Bishops in votes and functions, and, by force, to compel the Parliament to order, limit, and dispose their proceedings in such a manner as might best concur with the intentions of this dangerous and potent faction: And, when one mischievous designe, and attempt, of theirs, to bring on the Army against the Parliament and the City of *London*, had been discovered and prevented, they presently undertook another of the same damnable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavour to make the Scottish Army neutral, whilst the English Army, (which they had laboured to corrupt and en-venome against us by their false and slanderous suggestions,) should execute their malice, to the subversion of our Religion, and the dissolution of our government.

Thus they have been continually practicing to disturb the peace, and plotting the destruction, even of all the King's Dominions, and have employed their Emissaries and Agents in them all, for the promoting of their devilish Designs; which the vigilancy of those who were well-affected hath still discovered and defeated before they were ripe for execution in *England* and *Scotland*: onely in *Ireland*, (which was farther-off,) they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their work, and had brought it to that perfection, that they would have possessed themselves of that whole Kingdome, totally subverted the government of it, rooted-out Religion,

Religion, and destroyed all the Protestants, whom the conscience of their duty to God, their King, and Country, would not have permitted to join with them, if, by God's wonderful providence, their main enterprise upon the City and Castle of *Dublin* had not been detected and prevented upon the very Eve before it should have been executed. Notwithstanding this detection, they have, in other parts of that Kingdom, broken-out into open Rebellion, surprising Townes and Castles, and committed murders, and rapes, and other villanies; and shaken-off all bonds of obedience to His Majesty, and the laws of the Realm; and, in general, have kindled such a fire as nothing but God's infinite blessing upon the wisdom and endeavours of this State will be able to quench. And certainly, had not God, in his great mercy unto this Land, discovered and confounded their former designs, we should have been the Prologue to this Tragedy in *Ireland*, and have, by this time, been made a lamentable spectacle of misery and confusion to the World.

And, now, what hope have we but in God, whenas the only means of our subsistence, and power of reformation, is, under him, in the Parliament? But what can we, the Commons, do without the conjunction of the House of Lords? and what conjunction can we expect there, when the Bishops and Recusant Lords are so numerous and prevalent, that they are able to cross and interrupt our best endeavours for Reformation, and, by that means, give advantage to this malignant Party to traduce our proceedings? They infuse into the people, that we mean to abolish all Church-government, and leave every man to his own fancy for the service and worship of God, absolving him of that obedience which he owes, under God, unto His Majesty, whom we know to be entrusted with the Ecclesiastical Law as well as with the temporal, to regulate all the members of the Church of *England* by such rules of Order and Discipline as are established by Parliament, which is his great Council, in all affairs both in Church and State. We confess our intention is, and our endeavours have been, to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the word of God and to the Laws of the Land; to which end we past the Bill for removing them from their temporal power and employments; that so they might the better apply themselves, with meekness, to the discharge of their Functions; which Bill themselves opposed, and were the principal instruments of crossing it.

And we do here declare, that it is far from our purpose, or desire, to let loose the golden reins of Discipline and Government in the Church, to leave private persons, or particular Congregations, to take-up what forme of divine Service they please: For we hold it requisite that there should be, throughout the whole Realme, a conformity to that Order which the Laws enjoin, according to the Word of God. And we desire to unburthen the consciences of men with respect to the observance of needless and superstitious Ceremonies, and to suppress Innovations, and take-away the monuments of Idolatry. And, the better to effect the intended Reformation, we desire that there may be a general Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this Island, assisted by some from foreign parts professing the same Religion with us; who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and represent the results of their consultations
unto

unto the Parliament, to be there allowed-of and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience through-out the Kingdome.

They have maliciously charged us, "that we intend to destroy and discourage Learning;" whereas it is our chiefest care and desire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conscionable and preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdome; which will be a great encouragement to Scholars, and a certain means whereby the want, meannesse, and ignorance, to which a great part of the Clergy is now subject, will be prevented. And we intend likewise to reforme and purge the Fountains of Learning, the two Universities; that the streams flowing from thence may be cleere and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole Land.

They have strained to blast our proceedings in Parliament by wresting the interpretations of our Orders, from their genuine intention. They tell the people that our meddling with the power of Episcopacy, hath caused Sectaries and Conventicles; when Idolatry and Popish Ceremonies, introduced into the Church by the command of the Bishops, have not onely debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the Kingdome. Thus, with *Eliah*, we are called, by this Malignant party, the troublers of the State; and still, while we endeavour to reforme their abuses, they make us the Authors of those mischiefs we study to prevent.

Measures necessary
to be taken to avoid
dangers from the
Papists.

For the perfecting of the work begun, and removing all future impediments, we conceive these courses will be very effectual; seeing the Religion of the Papists hath such principles as do certainly tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants, when they shall have opportunity to effect it.

It is necessary, in the first place, to keep them in such condition, as that they may not be able to do us any hurt, and for avoiding of such connivance and favour as hath heretofore been shewed unto them, "That His Majesty be pleased to grant a standing Commission to some choice men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their increase, their counsels, and proceedings, and use all due means, by execution of the Laws, to prevent any mischievous designs against the peace and safety of this Kingdom; and that some good course be taken to discover the counterfeit and false conformity of papists to the Church, by colour whereof persons very much disaffected to the true Religion have been admitted into places of greatest authority and trust in the Kingdom."

Measures necessary
for the preservation
of the Laws and Li-
berties of the King-
dom.

For the better preservation of the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdom, that all illegal grievances and exactions be presented and punished at the Sessions, and Assizes: and that Judges and Justices be careful to give this in charge to the Grand-Jury, and both the Sheriffe and Justices to be sworne to the due execution of the Petition of Right, and other Laws: That his Majesty be humbly petitioned by both Houses to employ such Counsellours, Ambassadors, and other Ministers, in managing his business at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cause to confide-in, without which we cannot give His Majesty such supplies for support of his own estate, nor such assistance to the Protestant party beyond the Sea, as is desired.

It may often fall-out, that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being Counsellors, and yet not charge those men with crimes. For there be grounds of diffidence which lye not in proof; there are others which,

which, though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminal. To be a known favourer of Papists; or to have been very forward in defending, or countenancing, some great offenders questioned in Parliament; or to speake contemptuously of either of the Houses of Parliament, or of Parliamentary proceedings; or such as are Factors, or Agents, for any foreign Prince of another Religion; or such as are justly suspected to get Counsellours places, or any other places of trust, concerning public Employment, for money. For all these, and divers others, we may have great reason to be earnest with His Majesty not to put his great affairs into such hands, though we may be unwilling to proceed against them in any legal way of charge, or impeachment.

That all Counsellours of State may be sworne to observe those Laws which concern the Subject in his liberty; that they may likewise take an Oath not to receive any gift, reward, or Pension, from any foreign Prince, but such, as they, within some reasonable time, discover to the Lords of His Majesty's Council: and, although they should wickedly forswear themselves, yet it may herein doe good to make them known to be false and perjured to those who employ them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us.

That His Majesty may have cause to be in love with good counsel and good men, by shewing him, in an humble and dutiful manner, how full of advantage it would be to himself, to see his own estate settled in a plentiful condition to support his honour, to see his people united in ways of duty to him, and endeavours of the public good; to see happiness, wealth, peace, and safety derived to his own Kingdom, and procured to his Allies, by the influence of his own power and government.

That all good courses may be taken to unite the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, to be mutually aiding and assisting to one another for the common good of the Island, and honour of both.

To take-away all differences amongst ourselves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, and to unite ourselves against the common enemies; who are the better enabled by our divisions to destroy us all, as they hope, and have often endeavoured, to do.

To labour by all offices of friendship to unite the foreign Churches with us in the same cause, and to seek their liberty, safety, and prosperity; as bound thereunto both by charity to them, and by wisdom for our own good. For by this means our own strength shall be increased, and, by a mutual concurrence to the same common end, we shall be enabled to procure the good of the whole body of the Protestant Profession.

If these things may be observed, we doubt not but God will crown this Parliament with such successes as shall be the beginning and foundation of more honour and happiness to his Majesty than ever yet was enjoyed by any of his Royal Predecessors.

End of the Grand Remonstrance, or Declaration of the State of the Kingdom, from the beginning of the Reign of King Charles the First to December, 1641, by the House of Commons. Presented to the King at Hampton Court.

His

HIS MAJESTIE'S ANSWER to the PETITION which accompanied the DECLARATION presented to Him at Hampton-Court, Dec. 1, 1641.

WE, having received from you, soone after Our returne out of Scotland, a long Petition, consisting of many desires, of great moment, together with a Declaration, of a very unusual nature, annexed thereunto, We should have taken some time to consider of it, as befitted Us in a matter of that consequence, being confident, that your own reason and regard to Us, as well as Our expresse intimation by Our Comptroller to that purpose, would have restrained you from the publishing of it, till such time, as you should have received Our Answer to it. But, much against Our expectation, finding the contrary, that the said Declaration is already abroad in Print, by directions from your House, as appears by the printed Copy: We must let you know that We are very sensible of this disrespect. Notwithstanding, it is Our Intention, that no failing on your part shall make Us faile, on Ours, of giving all due satisfaction to the desires of Our People, in a Parliamentary way; And therefore we send you this Answer to your Petition; reserving Our-selfe, in point of the Declaration, which We think unparliamentary, and shall take a course to do that which We shall thinke fit in prudence and honour.

To the Petition, We say; that, although there are divers things in the Preamble of it, which We are so far from admitting, that We professe We cannot at all understand them, as, *Of a wicked and malignant party prevalent in the Government; Of some of that party admitted to Our Privie-Council, and to other Employments of trust and neerest to Us and Our Children; Of Endeavours to sow among the People false scandals and imputations to blemish and disgrace the Proceedings of the Parliament:* All, or any, of which did we know of, We should be as ready to remedie and punish, as you to complaine-of. That the Prayers of your Petition are grounded upon such Premisses as we must in no wise admit; yet, notwithstanding, We are pleased to give this answer to you.

To the first, concerning Religion, consisting of several branches, We say, that for the preserving the Peace and Safety of the Kingdome from the designs of the Popish Party, We have, and will still concur with all the just desires of Our People, in a Parliamentary way; That for the depriving of the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, We would have you consider, that their right is grounded upon the Fundamental Law of the Kingdome, and constitution of Parliament. This We would have you consider: But, since you desire Our concurrence herein in a Parliamentary way, We will give no further answer at this time.

As for the abridging of the inordinate power of the Clergy, We conceive that the taking-away of the High-Commission-Court, hath well moderated that: But, if there continue any Usurpations, or Excesses, in their Jurisdictions, We therein neither have, nor will, protect them.

Unto

Unto that Clause which concerneth Corruptions (as you style them) in Religion, in Church-government, and in Discipline, and the removing of such unnecessary Ceremonies as weake Consciences might check-at; [We answer] That, for any illegal Innovations which may have crept-in, We shall willingly concur in the removal of them. And, if Our Parliament shall advise Us to call a National Synod, which may duly examine such Ceremonies as give just cause of offence to any, We shall take it into consideration, and apply Our Selfe to give due satisfaction therein. But We are very sorry to hear, in such general terms, Corruption in Religion objected; since We are perswaded in our conscience, that no Church can be found upon the earth, that professeth the true Religion with more purity of Doctrine than the Church of *England* doth, nor where the Government and Discipline are jointly more beautified, and free from superstition, than as they are here established by Law, which (by the grace of God) We will, with Constancy, maintain (while We live) in their Purity and Glory, not only against all invasions of Popery, but also from the irreverence of those many Schismatics and Separatists, wherewith, of late, this Kingdom and this City abounds, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church and State; for the suppression of whom We require your timely and active assistance.

Concerning Religion and Church-government.

To the second prayer of the Petition, concerning the removal and choice of Counsellors, [We answer] that We know not any members of Our Council to whom the Character set-forth in the Petition can belong: That, by those of them whom We had exposed to trial, We have already given you sufficient testimony, that there is no man so near unto Us in place, or affection, whom We will not leave to the Justice of the Law, if you bring a particular charge, and sufficient proofs, against him; and of this We do again assure you. But, in the mean time, We wish you to forbear such general aspersions as may reflect upon all Our Council, since you name none in particular.

Concerning the removal of Counsellors.

That, for the choice of Our Counsellours, and Ministers of State, to deprive us of that would be to debar Us that natural liberty all Free-men have: And, as it is the undoubted right of the Crowne of *England*, to call such persons to Our Secret Councils, to publick employment, and Our particular service, as We shall think fit, So We are, and ever shall be, very careful to make election of such persons in those places of trust, as shall have given good testimonies of their abilities and integrity, and against whom there can be no just cause of exception, whereon reasonably to ground a diffidence: and to choices of this nature, We assure you that the mediation of the persons nearest unto Us hath always concurred.

To the third prayer of your Petition, concerning *Ireland*, [We answer], That We understand your desire of not alienating the forfeited Lands thereof, to proceed from your much care and love; And, likewise, we agree that it may be a Resolution very fit for Us to take. But, whether it be seasonable to declare a Resolution of that nature before the events of a War be seen, that We much doubt-of. Howsoever, We cannot but thank you for this care, and your cheerful engagement for the suppression of that Rebellion; upon the speedy effecting whereof, the glory of God in the Protestant

Concerning the forfeited estates in Ireland.

testant Profession, the safety of the British there, Our honour, and that of the Nation, so much depend. All the Interests of this Kingdom being so involved in that businesse, We cannot but quicken your affections therein, and shall desire you so to frame your Counsels, and to give such expedition to the work, as the nature thereof, and the pressure, in point of time, requires, and whereof you are put in mind by the daily insolence and increase of those Rebels.

For Conclusion, your promise to apply yourselves to such courses as may support Our Royal Estate with Honour and Plenty at home, and with Power and Reputation abroad, is that which We have ever promised ourself, both from your loyalties and Affections, and also for what We have already done, and shall daily go adding unto, for the comfort and happiness of our people.

HIS MAJESTIE'S DECLARATION, to all His loving SUBJECTS, in Answer to the REMONSTRANCE or DECLARATION of the STATE of the KINGDOM, made by the House of COMMONS.

Published with the advice of His Privy-Council.

ALTHOUGH We do not believe that Our House of Commons intended, by their Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, to put Us to any Apology, either for Our past or present Actions; Notwithstanding, since they have thought it so very necessary (upon their Observation of the present Distemper) to publish the same for the satisfaction of all Our loving Subjects, We have thought it very suitable to the duty of Our place, (with which God hath trusted Us) to do Our part to so good a Work; in which We shall not think it below Our Kingly dignity to descend to any particular which may compose and settle the affections of Our meanest Subjects, since We are so conscious to Our Selfe of such upright Intentions and endeavours, and onely of such (for which We give God thanks) for the Peace and happinesse of Our Kingdom (in which the prosperity of Our Subjects must be included,) that We wish from Our heart, that even Our most secret thoughts were published to their view and examination; Though We must confesse We cannot but be very sorry in this conjuncture of time (when the unhappinesse of this Kingdom is so generally understood abroad) that there should be such a necessitie of publishing so many Particulars; from which, We pray, that no inconveniences may ensue, that were not intended.

We shall, in few words, passe-over that part of the Narrative, wherein the Misfortunes of this Kingdom from Our first entering to the Crown, to the beginning of this Parliament, are remembred in so sensible expressions; And that other, which acknowledgeth the many good Lawes passed by our Grace and Favour this Parliament, for the Security of Our people; of which We shall only say thus much, That, as We have not refused to passe any Bill presented to Us by our Parliament, for redresse of those Grievances mentioned in the Remonstrance, so We have not had a greater Motive for the passing those Lawes than our own Resolution, (grounded

(grounded upon Our Observation and understanding of the State of Our Kingdom) to have freed Our Subjects, for the future, from those Pressures which were grievous to them, if those Laws had not been propounded: which therefore We shall as inviolably maintain as We look to have Our own Rights preserved; not doubting but that all Our loving Subjects will look-on those Remedies with that full gratitude and affection, that even the memory of what they have formerly undergone, by the Accidents and necessities of those times, will not be unpleasant to them. And possibly, in a pious sense of God's blessing upon this Nation (how little share soever We shall have of the acknowledgement,) they will confesse they have enjoyed a great measure of happinesse (even in these last sixteen yeeres) both in peace and plenty, not onely comparatively in respect of their Neighbours, but even of those times which were justly accounted Fortunate.

The Feares and Jealousies which may make some impression in the mindes of Our People, We will suppose may be of two sorts; either for Religion, or for Liberty and their civil Interests. The Feares for Religion may haply be not only as Ours, here established, may be invaded by the Romish partie, but as it is accompanied with some Ceremonies, at which some tender Consciences really are, or pretend to be, scandalized: for of any other ceremonies which have been used without any legal Warrant, or injunction, and already are, or speedily may be, abolished, We shall not speake.

Concerning Religion, as there may be some suspicion of favour, or inclination, to the Papists, We are willing to Declare to all the world, That, as We have been, from Our childhood, brought-up in, and practised, the Religion now established in this Kingdom; so it is well known, that We have (not contented simply with the Principles of Our Education) given a good proportion of Our time and paines to the examination of the grounds of this Religion, as it is different from that of *Rome*, and are, from Our soule, so fully satisfied and assured, that it is the most pure, and agreeable to the Sacred Word of God, of any Religion now practised in the Christian world: That, as We believe that we can maintain the same by unanswerable reasons, so We hope We should readily seale to it by the effusion of Our Blood, if it pleased God to call us to that sacrifice. And therefore nothing can be so acceptable unto Us, as any proposition which may contribute to the advancement of it here, or the propagation of it abroad, being the only means to draw-downe a blessing from God upon ourselves and this Nation. And We have been extremely unfortunate, if this profession of Ours be wanting to Our people: Our constant practice in our owne Person having alwayes been (without ostentation) as much to the evidence of Our care and duty herein, as We could possibly tell how to express.

For differences amongst ourselves as to matters indifferent in their own nature, concerning Religion, We shall, in tendernesse to any number of Our loving Subjects, very willingly comply with the advice of Our Parliament, that some Law may be made for the exemption of tender consciences from punishment, or prosecution

The King declares himself to be sincerely and zealously attached to the Protestant Religion after a careful examination of the grounds of it.

for such Ceremonies, and in such cases, which, by the judgement of most men, are held to be matters indifferent, and, of some, to be absolutely unlawful. Provided, that this case be attempted and pursued with that modesty, temper, and submission, that, in the mean time, the peace and quiet of the Kingdom be not disturbed, the decency and comeliness of God's service discountenanced, nor the pious, sober, and devout actions of those Reverend Persons who were the first labourers in the blessed Reformation, or of that time, be scandaled and defamed. For We cannot, without grieve of heart, and without some tax upon Our selfe, and Our Ministers, for the non-execution of Our Laws, look upon the bold Licence of some men, in Printing of Pamphlets, and in Preaching and Printing of Sermons, so full of bitterness and malice against the present Government, against the Laws established, so full of sedition against Ourself, and the peace of the Kingdom, that We are many times amazed to consider by what Eyes these things are seen, and by what Ears they are heard: And, therefore, We have good cause to command, as We have done, and hereby do, all Our Judges and Ministers of Justice, Our Attorney and Solicitor-General, and the rest of Our learned Counsel, to proceed with all speed against such, and their Abettors, who, either by writing, or words, have so boldly and maliciously violated the Laws, disturbed the peace of the Common-wealth, and, as much as in them lies, shaken the very foundation upon which that peace and happiness is founded and constituted. And we doubt not but all Our loving Subjects will be very sensible that this busie, virulent, demeanour, is a fit Prologue to nothing but confusion; and, if not very seasonably punished and prevented, will not only be a blemish to that wholesome accommodation We intend, but an unspeakable scandal and imputation, even upon the profession and Religion of this Our Kingdom of *England*.

Concerning the Civil Liberties and Interest of Our Subjects, We shall need to say the less, having erected so many lasting Monuments of Our Princely and fatherly care of Our People, in those many excellent Lawes passed by Us in this Parliament; which, in truth, (with very much content to Ourself) We conceive to be so large and ample, that very many sober men have very little left to wish-for.

We understood well the Right, and pretences of Right, We departed from in the consenting to the Bills of the Triennial Parliament and for the continuance of this present Parliament, and in the preamble to the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage; the matter of which (having begot so many disturbances in late Parliaments,) We were willing to remove, that no interest of Ours might hereafter break that correspondence; abundantly contenting Ourself with an Assurance (which We still have) that We should be repaired and supplied by a just proportion of confidence, bounty, and obedience, of Our people. In the Bills for the taking-away the High-Commission and Star-Chamber Courts, We believed We had given that real satisfaction, that all jealousies and apprehensions of Arbitrary pressures under the Civil or Ecclesiastical state, would easily have been abandoned, especially when they saw all possible doubts secured by the visitation of a Triennial Parliament.

These, and others of no mean consideration, We had rather should be valued in

in the hearts and affections of Our people, than in any mention of Our own, not doubting, but that, as We have taken all these occasions to render their condition most comfortable and happy, so they will always, in a grateful and dutiful relation, be ready, with equal tenderness and alacrity, to advance Our Rights, and preserve Our Honour, upon which their own security and subsistence so much depends. And We will be so careful, that no particular shall be presented unto Us for the compleating and establishing that security, to which We will not, with the same readiness, contribute Our best assistance.

If these resolutions be the effects of Our present Counsels, (and We take God to witness that they are such, and that all Our loving Subjects may confidently expect the benefit of them from Us,) certainly no ill design upon the Publick can accompany such Resolutions, neither will there be greater cause of suspicion of any Persons preferred by Us to degrees of Honour, and places of trust and employment, since this Parliament; and, We must confess, that, amongst Our misfortunes, we reckon it not the least, That, having not retained in Our Service, nor protected, any one Person, against whom Our Parliament hath excepted, during the whole sitting of it, and having, in all that time, scarce vouchsafed to any man an instance of Our Grace and Favour, but to such who were under some eminent Character of Estimation amongst Our people, there should so soon be any misunderstanding, or jealousy of their fidelity and uprightness, especially in a time when We take all occasions to declare, That We conceive Ourself only capable of being served by honest Men, and in honest ways. However, if, in truth, We have been mistaken in such Our election of our publick servants, the particulars shall be no sooner discovered to Us, either by Our own observation, or other certain information, than We will leave them to Publick Justice, under the marks of Our displeasure.

If, notwithstanding this, any malignant Party shall take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the Peace and Happiness of their Country to their own sinister ends and ambitions, under what pretence of Religion and Conscience soever;—If they shall endeavour to lessen Our Reputation and Interest, and to weaken Our lawful Power and Authority with our good Subjects;—if they shall go about, by discountenancing the present Laws, to loosen the Bonds of Government, that all disorder and confusion may break-in upon Us;—We doubt not, but God, in his good time, will discover them unto Us; and the wisdom and courage of Our High-Court of Parliament will join with Us in their suppression and punishment.

Having now said all that We can, to expresse the clearness and uprightness of Our Intentions to Our people, and done all We can to manifest those Intentions, We cannot but confidently believe that all Our good Subjects will acknowledge Our part to be fully performed, both in deeds past, and in present Resolutions to do whatsoever, with Justice, may be required of Us, and that their quiet and prosperity depends now wholly upon themselves, and is in their own power, by yielding all obedience and due reverence to the Law, which is the inheritance of every subject, and the only security he can have for his Life, Liberty, or Estate; and the which
being

being neglected, or dis-esteemed, (under what specious shews soever) a great measure of infelicity, if not an irreparable confusion, must, without doubt, fall upon them. And, We doubt not, it will be the most acceptable Declaration a King can make to His Subjects, that, for Our part, We are resolved not only duly to observe the Laws of Ourselves, but to maintain them against what opposition soever, though with the hazard of Our being.

Of the necessity of
relieving the distressed
Protestants of
Ireland.

And Our hope is, that not only the Loyalty and good Affections of all Our loving Subjects will concur with Us in the constant preserving a good understanding between Us and Our people; but, at this time, their own, and Our, interest, and compassion of the lamentable condition of Our poor Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, will invite them to a faire intelligence and unity amongst themselves, that so We may, with one heart, intend the relieving and recovering that unhappy Kingdom, where those barbarous Rebels practice such inhumane and unheard-of Outrages upon Our miserable people, that no Christian ear can hear without horror, nor any story parallel. And, as we look upon this as the greatest affliction it hath pleased God to lay upon Us, so Our unhappiness is encreased, in that, by the distempers at home, so early remedies have not been applied to those growing evils as the expectation and necessity there requires; though, for Our part, as We did, upon the first notice, acquaint Our Parliament of *Scotland* (where We then were) with that Rebellion, requiring their aid and assistance; and gave like speedy intimation and recommendation to Our Parliament here; so, since Our return hither, We have been forward to all things which have been proposed to Us towards that work, and have lately Ourselves offered (by a Message to Our House of Peers, and communicated to Our House of Commons) to take upon Us the care to raise speedily ten thousand English Volunteers for that service, if the House of Commons shall declare, that they will pay them; which particulars We are (in a manner) necessitated to publish, since, We are informed, that the malice of some persons hath whispered it abroad, That the no speedier advancing of this business hath proceeded from some want of alacrity in Us to this great work; whereas We acknowledge it would be a high crime against Almighty God, and inexcusable to Our good Subjects of Our three Kingdoms, if We did not, to the utmost, employ all Our powers and faculties, to the speediest and most effectual assistance and protection of that distressed people.

And We shall now conjure all Our good Subjects (of what degree soever) by all the Bonds of Love, Duty, or Obedience, that are precious to good men, to join with Us for the Recovery of the Peace of that Kingdom, and the preservation of the Peace of this, to remove all their Doubts and Fears, which may interrupt their affection to Us, and all their Jealousies and apprehensions, which may lessen their Charity to each other: and then (if the sins of this Nation have not prepared an inevitable Judgement for us all) God will yet make Us a Great and glorious King over a Free and Happy People. *

* This Declaration of the King to his subjects, in answer to the foregoing grand Remonstrance, or Declaration, of the House of Commons, is generally supposed to have been drawn-up by *Mr. Edward Hyde*, who was afterwards Lord Chancellor of England and Earl of Clarendon

A COMMON

A COMMON COUNCIL held at GUILDHALL, in the City of LONDON,
the 31st of December, 1641.

Commune Concilium tentum in Camerâ Guild-hall, Civitatis Londoniæ, tricesimo primo die Decembris 1641, post meridiem, Anno Regni Domini Nostri Caroli, nunc Regis Angliæ, &c. decimo septimo, corâ Ricardo Gurney, Milite et Baronetto, Majore Civitatis Londoniæ, Thomâ Gardiner, Milite, ejusdem Civitatis Recordatore, Ed. Bromfield, Milite, et Ed. Wright, Milite, et Aldermanno dictæ Civitatis, Johanne Cordell, Milite, Johanne Gayer, Milite, Jacobo Garrad, Milite, ac Aldermanno, Thomâ Atkin, Aldermanno, Johanne Wallaston, Milite et Aldermanno, Thomâ Adams, Johanne Warner, Johanne Towse, Abrahamo Reynardson, et Thomâ Austin, prædictæ Civitatis Aldermannis, ac Georgio Garret et Georgio Clark, Militibus et Aldermannis ac Vicecomitibus Civitatis prædictæ, nec non majore parte Conciliariorum de Communi Concilio ejusdem Civitatis, tunc et ibidem assemblatorum.

AT this Common-Council Master Recorder declared, That, by the direction of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, he was to signifie to them the cause of their now Assembling, how that his Lordship had yesterday received a Letter from Sir Edward Nicholas, Knight, one of His Majestie's principal Secretaries, intimating that it was His Majestie's pleasure, that his Lordship should call a Common-Council against this time, and then his Lordship should be advertised of His Majestie's further pleasure: And that there was now at this present in the Council-Chamber an honourable person, being the Lord Newburgh, Chancellour of His Majestie's Court of the Dutchy, and one of His Majestie's most honourable Privy-Council, come hither to deliver His Majestie's Messsage, or Request, to this Court: And thereupon the Right Honourable the Lord Newburgh was desired to come into this Court, who, being here, declared and said in this manner; "Gentlemen, His Majesty, out of His good affection towards the City, and acknowledging of your great loves lately shewed unto His Highnesse, hath sent me on a Message unto you," assuring it to be the same contained in a Paper, which he presented and desired to be read to this Common-Council, which was accordingly done, the tenour whereof followeth in these words, viz."

There having been of late many tumultuary and riotous Assemblies of people about Our Palaces of White-hall and Westminster, to the great disturbance of Us and Our Parliament: and We having received information, that some ill-affected persons do still endeavour to incite the like tumults again, We have thought fit to recommend to your especial care the preventing them, as far as in you lies, especially during the ensuing Holidays, at which time the idlenesse of many may make them apter to such disorders. We have thought fit likewise to let you know, that We are so well-assured of the
good

good affections of our City of London, by the great expressions which it hath made unto Us of late, that We can in no wise understand it to have any share in the fault of these tumults and distempers, but that they proceed meerly from the mean, unruly, people of the Suburbs. And, as We are most confident of the hearts and good affections of Our Citie of London towards Us and Our Government, and will not entertain any other opinion: so We do desire them not to be disturbed by any jealousies that ill-affected persons may endeavour to sow, but to rest most confident and assured, that the safetie, the protection, and the prosperity of the City, shall ever be with Us a principal care.

After the reading of which most gracious Message, whereby is fully manifested and expressed His Majestie's gracious goodnesse and great care for the safety and prosperity of this City (the Lord *Newburgh* having withdrawn himself,) this Common-Council tooke the same into their serious consideration, and how for the present to return, by this Honourable person, unto His Majesty an answer with all humility and thankfulness; And, after much debate, it was fully agreed and resolved of by this Common-Council, That, in the first place, should be returned and rendered unto His Majestie from this Common-Council, as the Representative Body of the whole City, their humble duty in all thankful manner, for His goodnesse and gracious love and care manifested to this City.

Secondly, that it should besigned unto His Majesty, that neither This Court, nor any particular member thereof, hath had any hand in these Tumultuous and Riotous proceedings, and that they, and every of them, do disavow and disclaime the same.

Thirdly, That it may be likewise signified, That this Court (as the Representative Body of the whole City) doth promise from hence-forth their best endeavours to prevent and suppress in time to come (as far as in them lyeth), all such, or the like, Tumultuous Assemblies, and all Mutinous and Rebellious persons.

And lastly, That the humble desire of this Court may be presented unto His Majesty, to be graciously pleased, that all the Delinquents and causers of these Tumults, whatsoever they be, being apprehended, may be brought into examination, and receive condigne punishment according to the Law.

And these foure things thus agreed upon, were, by direction of this Common-Council, here openly declared and delivered, by the mouth of Master Recorder, unto that Honourable Person, the Lord *Newburgh*, here present, with desire that the same should be, by his Lordship, accordingly presented unto His Majesty; the which he promised to perform with trust.

And afterwards this Court entred into further consultation and debate, touching the tumultuous and riotous Assemblies lately spread, night and day, in several parts of this City, to the great trouble and affrightment of His Majestie's good Subjects, and also touching the great neglect of that due respect which ought to be given by the

the Inhabitants of this City, to the several Precepts lately issued-out by my Lord Mayor for a continual Watch and Ward day and night, for prevention and suppression of such Tumults and Distempers.

And likewise touching the great neglect in appearance of the Trained Bands of this City to their Colours at the beat of the Drum, especially in these times of danger, in contempt of Authority, being a matter of exceeding great consequence, and not fit to be suffered. And thereupon this Common Council, taking much to heart, that such disobedience should grow and be found in the Inhabitants of this City, to the great disrespect of Magistracy and contempt of Government; And that such Disorders and Tumultuary Assemblies should be permitted in such a City as this, (formerly famous for the good and quiet Government thereof,) hath thought it very expedient and Behoveful, for redresse and remedy to be had in these abuses, (being not fit to be any longer endured,) That every Member of this Common-Council, now assembled, shall, in their several Precincts, spread it abroad, and make it known, That, if any person, or persons, shall from henceforth neglect his duty and service to be performed, as aforesaid, and shall not doe his best endeavour to suppress, or prevent, any Tumults or Riotous Assemblies, that shall hereafter be attempted within this City, or Liberties thereof, that then he, or they, offending shall receive condigne punishment, according to his or their demerits.

And it is further thought fit, and so agreed by this Common-Council, that my Lord Mayor may send-out his Precepts in such manner, and to such purpose, as his Lordship, and his Brethren the Aldermen, shall think fit, for Watch and Ward, raising of Arms, or otherwise, for the safety and preservation of this City; to which this Court, and all the Members thereof, promise all due and cheerful obedience.

HIS MAJESTIE'S MESSAGE, sent by the Lord CHAMBERLAIN to the House of PEERS, the 28th of December, 1641.

HIS Majestie, being very sensible of the great Miseries and Distresses of His Subjects in the kingdom of *Ireland*, which go daily increasing so fast, and the Blood which hath been already spilt by the crueltie and barbarousness of those Rebels, crying-out so loud; and, perceiving how slowly the Succours designed thither go on, His Majesty hath thought fit to let your Lordships know, and desires you to acquaint the House of Commons therewith, That His Majestie will take care, that by Commission which He shall grant, ten thousand English Voluntiers shall be speedily raised for that Service, if so the House of Commons shall declare that they will pay them.

A Proclamation
against the Irish
Rebels, January 1,
1641-42.

By the KING.

WHEREAS divers lewd and wicked persons have, of late, risen in Rebellion in Our Kingdom of *Ireland*, surprised divers of Our Forts and Castles, and possessed themselves thereof; surprised some of our Garrisons; possessed themselves of some of Our Magazines of Arms and Munition; dispossessed many of Our good and loyal Subjects of the British Nation, and Protestants, of their Houses and Lands; robbed and spoiled many thousands of Our good Subjects of the British Nation, and Protestants, of their goods, to great values; massacred multitudes of them, imprisoned many others, and some who have the honour to serve Us as privie Councillours of that Our Kingdom: We therefore, having taken the same into Our Royal consideration, and abhorring the wicked disloyaltie and horrible acts committed by those persons, do hereby, not only declare Our just indignation thereof, but also do declare them and their Adherents, and Abettors, and all those who shall hereafter join with them, or commit the like acts on any of Our good Subjects in that Kingdom, to be Rebels and Traitors against Our Royal Person, and enemies to Our Royal Crown of *England* and *Ireland*.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all those persons, who have so presumed to rise in Arms against Us and our Royal authority (which We cannot otherwise interpret than as Acts of high Rebellion and detestable disloyaltie, when therein they spoil and destroy our good and Loyal Subjects of the British Nation, and Protestants) That they immediately lay-down their Arms, and forbear all further Acts of Hostility; wherein if they faile, We do let them know, That We have authorised Our Justices of *Ireland*, and other Our chief Governour or Governours, and General, or Lieutenant-General, of Our Army there; And do hereby accordingly require and authorise them, and every of them, to prosecute the said Rebels and Traitours, with fire and sword, as persons who, by their disloyalty against Us, their lawful and undoubted King and Sovereign, have made themselves unworthy of any mercy or favour: wherein Our said Justices, or other chief Governour, or Governours, and General or Lieutenant-General of Our said Army, shall be countenanced and supported by Us and by Our powerfull succours of Our good Subjects of *England* and *Scotland*, that so they may reduce to obedience those wicked disturbers of that Peace, which, by the blessing of God, that Kingdom hath so long and so happily enjoyed, under the government of Our Royal father and Us. And this Our Royal pleasure, We do hereby require Our Justices, or other chief Governour, or Governours, of that Our Kingdom of *Ireland*, to cause to be published and proclaimed, in and throughout Our said Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Given under Our Signet, at Our Palace at Westminster, the first day of *January*, in the seventeenth yeer of Our Reign, 1641*.

God save the King.

Articles

* This date is more than two months after the 23d of October, 1641, when the Irish rebellion and massacre began. And it is remarkable, that with this Proclamation, a warrant signed by Secretary Nicholas,

Articles of HIGH TREASON, and other Misdemeanours, against the Lord KYMBOLTON, Mr. PYM, JOHN HAMPDEN, DENZILL HOLLIS, Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, and WILLIAM STRODE, being all MEMBERS of the House of Commons.

1. THAT they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Fundamental Lawes and Government of this Kingdome, and deprive the King of his Legall power, and to place on Subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power.

2. That they have endeavoured, by many foule aspersions upon his Majesty and his Government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his Majesty odious to them.

3. That they have endeavoured to draw his Majestie's late Army to disobedience to his Majestie's command, and to side with them in their Trayterous design.

4. That they have Trayterously invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his Majestie's Kingdome of England.

5. That they have Traiterously endeavoured to Subvert the very Rights and Beings of Parliaments.

6. That, for the compleating of their Traiterous designs, they have endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them in their Traiterous designs, and to that end, have actually raised and countenanced Tumults against the King and Parliament.

7. That they have Traiterously conspired to Levy, and actually have Levied, war against the King.

Die Lunæ, 3 Januar. 1641.

IT is this day ordered upon the question, by the Commons House of Parliament, That, if any persons whatsoever, shall come to the Lodgings of any Member of this House, and there do offer to Seal the Trunks, Doors, or Papers of any Members of this House, or to seize upon their persons; That then such Members should require the aid of the Constable, to keep such Persons in safe custody, till this House do give further Order. And this House doth further declare, That, if any person whatsoever, shall offer to arrest, or detain, the person of any Member of this House, without first acquainting this House therewith, and receiving further Order from this House; That it is lawful for such Member, or any person willing to assist him, to stand upon his, and their, guard of defence, and to make resistance, according to the Protestation taken to defend the Priviledges of Parliament.

H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

las, was sent to the Printer, importing, "That it was His Majestie's Pleasure he should forthwith print, on good Paper, forty copies of the same for the King's use, and that no more be printed, till his Pleasure be further notified. See Rushworth's Historical Collections abridged, Vol. IV. page 234.

HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECH *in the House of Commons*, Jan. 4, 1641.

Gentlemen,

I AM sorry for this occasion of coming unto you: yesterday I sent a Sergeant at Arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that, by my command, were accused of High Treason, whereunto I did expect Obedience, and not a Message. And I must declare unto you here, that, albeit no King that ever was in *England*, shall be more careful of your PRIVILEGES, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of Treason, no person hath a privilege; and therefore I am come to know, if any of those persons, that were accused, are here. For I must tell you, Gentlemen, that, so long as those persons that I have accused (for no slight crime, but for Treason) are here, I cannot expect that this House can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it: Therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them, wheresoever I find them. Well;—since I see all the Birds are flown, I do expect from you that you shall send them unto me as soon as they return hither: But I assure you, in the word of a King, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way: for I never meant any other.

And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly; That, whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good, of my Subjects, I do mean to maintain it.

I will trouble you no more, but tell you, I do expect, as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me: otherwise I must take my own course to find them.

Die Mercurii, 5 January, 1641.

COMMONS *House of* PARLIAMENT.

WHEREAS his Majesty, in his Royal Person, yesterday, being the fourth of *January*, 1641, did come to the House of Commons, attended with a great multitude of men, armed in a warlike manner, with Halberts, Swords, and Pistols, who came-up to the very door of the House, and placed themselves there, and in other places and passages near to the House, to the great terrour and disturbance of the Members thereof, then sitting, and according to their duty, in a peaceable and orderly manner, treating of the great affairs of both Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*; And his Majesty, having placed himself in the Speaker's Chair, did demand the Persons of divers Members of the House to be delivered unto Him.

It is this day declared, by the House of Commons, that the same is a high breach of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, and inconsistent with the Liberty

Liberty and Freedom thereof: and therefore this House doth conceive they cannot, with the safety of their own Persons, or the indemnity of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, sit here any longer, without a full vindication of so high a breach, and a sufficient Guard wherein they may confide; for which both Houses jointly, and this House by itself, have been humble Suitors to his Majestie, and cannot as yet obtain.

Notwithstanding which, this House, being very sensible of the greatest trust reposed in them; and especially at this time of the manifold distractions of this Kingdom, and the lamentable and distressed condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; doth Order, that this House shall be Adjourned until Tuesday next at one of the clock in the afternoon, and that a Committee be named by this House, and all that will come shall have voices, and shall sit at the Guildhall in the City of *London*, to-morrow morning at nine of the clock; and shall have power to consider and resolve of all things that may concern the good and safety of the City and Kingdom, and particularly how our Priviledges may be vindicated, and our Persons secured. And to consider of the affairs and reliefe of *Ireland*; and shall have power to consult and advise with any person or persons, touching the premises, and shall have power to send for parties, witnesses, papers, and records.

And it is further ordered, that the Committee for the Irish Affairs, shall meet at the Guildhall aforesaid, at what time they shall think fit; and consult and do touching the affairs of *Ireland*, according to the power formerly given them by this House; and both the said Committees shall report the results of their consideration and Resolution to this House.

Master Chancellour of the Exchequer. M. Glyn. M. Whitlock. Lord Faulkland. Sir Phil. Stapleton. M. Nath. Fiennes. Sir Ralph Hopton. Sir John Hotham. Sir Walter Earl. Sir Robert Cook. Sir Tho. Walsingham. Sir Samuel Roll. M. Perpoint. M. Walt. Long. Sir Rich. Cave. Sir Ed. Hungerford. M. Grimston. Sir Christ. Wray. Sir Ben. Rudyard. Sir John Hep-
pisley. M. Herbert Price. Sir John Wray. Sir Thomas Barrington. M. Wheeler. Sir Wil. Litton.

This is the Committee appointed by the former Order, and are to pursue the directions of the former Order; And all that will come are to have voices at this Committee.

A DECLARATION of the House of COMMONS, touching a late Breach of their PRIVILEGES; and for the Vindication thereof, and of divers MEMBERS of the said House.

WHEREAS the Chambers, Studies, and Truncks of Master Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Master John Pym, Master John Hampden, and Master William Strode, Esquires, Members of the House of Commons, upon Monday the third

A description of the violent and insolent behaviour of several of the attendants of the King, when he forcibly entered the House of Commons, on the 4th day of January, 1641-42.

The House of Commons resolve to remove the place of their meeting, to the Guild hall in the City of London.

third of this instant *January*, by colour of his Majestie's Warrant, have been sealed-up by Sir *William Killigrew*, and Sir *William Flemen*, and others, which is not only against the Priviledge of Parliament, but the Common Liberty of every subject: Which said Members afterwards, the same day, were under the like colour, by Serjeant *Francis*, one of His Majestie's Serjeants at Arms, contrary to all former Presidents demanded of the Speaker sitting in the House of Commons, to be delivered unto him, that he might Arrest them of High Treason. And whereas, afterwards the next day, His Majesty, in His Royal Person, came to the said House, attended with a great multitude of men, armed in warlike manner, with Halberts, Swords, and Pistols, who came-up to the very door of the House, and placed themselves there, and in other places, and passages near to the said House, to the great terrour and disturbance of the Members then sitting; and according to their duty, in a peaceable, and orderly manner, treating of the great Affairs of *England* and *Ireland*. And his Majesty, having placed himself in the Speaker's Chair, demanded of them the Persons of the said Members to be delivered unto him; which is a high Breach of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, and Inconsistent with the Liberties and Freedom thereof. And, whereas, afterwards his Majesty did issue-forth several Warrants to divers Officers, under his own hand, for the apprehension of the Persons of the said Members, which by Law he cannot do: there being not all this time, any Legal charge or accusation, or due Process of Law issued against them, nor any pretence of charge made known to that House; all which are against the Fundamental Liberties of the Subject, and the Rights of Parliament: Whereupon we are necessitated, according to our duty, to declare, And we do hereby declare, that, if any Person shall arrest Master *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Master *Pym*, Master *Hampden*, and Master *Strode*, or any of them, or any other Member of Parliament, by pretence or colour of any Warrant issuing-out from the King only, he will be guilty of a Breach of the Liberties of the Subject, and of the Priviledge of Parliament, and will be a publick enemy to the Common-wealth. And that the Arresting of the said Members, or any of them, or of any other Member of Parliament, by any Warrant whatsoever, without a legal Proceeding against them, and without consent of that House, whereof such Person is a Member, is against the Liberty of the Subject, and a Breach of Priviledge of Parliament; and the Person which shall Arrest any of these Persons, or any other Member of the Parliament, is declared a publick enemy of the Common-wealth. Notwithstanding all which, we think fit further to declare, that we are so far from any endeavours to protect any of our Members, that shall be in due manner prosecuted according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, for Treason, or any other misdemeanors, That none shall be more ready and willing than we ourselves to bring them to a speedy and due trial, being sensible that it equally imports us, as well to see Justice done against them that are criminous, as to defend the just Rights and Liberties of the Subjects and Parliament of *England*.

And whereas, upon several Examinations, taken the seventh day of this instant
January,

January, before the Committee appointed by the House of Commons, to sit in *London*, it did fully appear, that many Souldiers, Papists, and others, to the number of about five hundred, came with His Majesty on Tuesday last, to the said House of Commons, armed with Swords, Pistols, and other Weapons; and divers of them pressed to the door of the said House, thrust-away the Door-keepers, and placed themselves between the said doore and the ordinary Attendants of his Majesty, holding-up their Swords, and some holding-up their Pistols, ready-cock'd, neer the said doore; and saying, "I am a good Marksman; I can hit right, I warrant you;" and they not suffering the said door, according to the custome of Parliament, to be shut, but saying they would have the doore open, and, if any opposition were made against them, they made no question, but they should make their party good, and that they would maintain their party; and, when several Members of the House of Commons were coming into the House, their Attendants desiring that Room might be made for them, some of the said Souldiers answered, A Pox of them, "God confound them," and others said, "A Pox take the House of Commons, let them come and be hanged; what an a-do is here with the House of Commons?" and some of the said Souldiers did likewise violently assault and, by force, disarm, some of the Attendants and Servants of the Members of the House of Commons, waiting in the Roome next the said House; and, upon the King's return out of the said House, many of them, by wicked Oaths, and otherwise, expressed much discontent, that some members of the said House, for whom they came, were not there; and others of them said, "When comes the word?" and, no word being given at his Majestie's coming-out, they cried "A lane, a lane." Afterwards some of them, being demanded, what they thought the said company intended to have done, answered, "That, questionlesse, in the posture they were set, if the word had been given, they should have fallen upon the House of Commons, and have cut all their throats." Upon all which we are of opinion, that it is sufficiently proved, that the coming of the said Souldiers, Papists, and others with his Majesty to the House of Commons, on Tuesday last, being the fourth of this instant *January*, in the manner aforesaid, was to take-away some of the Members of the said House; and, if they should have found opposition or denial, then to have fallen upon the said House in a hostile manner: And we do hereby declare, that the same was a traiterous designe against the King and Parliament. And, whereas the said Master *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigge*, Master *Pym*, Master *Hampden*, and Master *Strode*, upon report of the coming of the said Souldiers, Papists, and others, in the warlike and hostile manner aforesaid, did, with the approbation of the House, absent themselves from the service of the House, for avoiding the great and many inconveniences, which otherwise apparently might have happened: Since which time, a Printed Paper, in the form of a Proclamation, bearing date the sixth day of this instant *January*, hath issued-out for the apprehending and imprisoning of them; Therein suggesting, that, through the conscience of their owne guilt, they were absent and fled, not willing to submit themselves to Justice; We do further declare, that the said Printed Paper is false, scandalous, and illegal, and that, notwithstanding the said Printed Paper, or
any

A description of the violent and insolent behaviour of several of the attendants of the King, when he forcibly entered the House of Commons, on the 4th day of *January*, 1641-42.

N. B.

any Warrant issued-out, or any other matter yet appearing against them, or any of them, they may and ought to attend the service of the said House of Commons, and the several Committees now on foot, And that it is lawful for all persons whatsoever to lodge, harbour, or converse with them, or any of them : And who-soever shall be questioned for the same, shall be under the protection and priviledge of Parliament.

And we do further declare, That the publishing of several Articles, purporting a form of a charge of high Treason, against the Lord *Kymbolton*, one of the Members of the Lord's House, and against the said Master *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigge*, Master *Pym*, Master *Hampden*, and Master *Strode*, by Sir *William Killigrew*, Sir *William Flemen*, and others in the Innes of Court, and elsewhere, in the King's Name, was a high Breach of the Priviledge of Parliament, a great scandal to his Majesty and his Government : A seditious Act, manifestly tending to the subversion of the Peace of the Kingdome, and an injury and dishonour to the said Members, there being no legal charge, or accusation, against them.

That the privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Subject, so violated and broken, cannot be fully and sufficiently vindicated, unlesse his Majesty will be graciously pleased to discover the names of those persons, who advised his Majesty to issue-out Warrants for the sealing of the Chambers and Studies of the said Members, to send a Serjeant at Arms to the House of Commons, to demand their said Members, to issue-out several Warrants under his Majestie's own hand, to apprehend the said Members ; His Majestie's coming thither in his own Royal Person ; The publishing of the said Articles, and Printed Paper, in the forme of a Proclamation, against the said Members, in such manner as is before declared ; To the end that such persons may receive condigne punishment.

And this House doth further declare, That all such persons as have given any Counsell, or endeavoured to set, or maintain, division or dislike, between the King and Parliament, or have listed their names, or otherwise entred into any combination or agreement, to be aiding, or assisting, to any such counsell or endeavour, or have perswaded any other so to do, or that shall do any the things above-mentioned ; And shall not forth-with discover the same to either House of Parliament, or the Speaker of either of the said Houses respectively, and disclaime it, are declared publike enemies of the State and Peace of this Kingdome, and shall be enquired-of, and proceeded-against, accordingly.

Die Lunæ, 17 Januarrii, 1641. It is this day ordered, by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that this Declaration shall be forth-with published in Print.

Hen. Elsing. Cler. Parl. de Com.

To

*To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY, and the LORDS and PEERS
now assembled in PARLIAMENT.*

*The humble Petition and Protestation of all the Bishops and Prelates, now called
by his Majesty's Writs to attend the Parliament, and present about London and
Westminster, for that service.*

THAT, whereas the Petitioners are called-up by several and respective Writs, and under great penalties, to attend in Parliament, and have a cleere and indubitate Right to Vote in Bills, and all other matters whatsoever, debateable in Parliament, by the ancient Customes, Laws, and Statutes of this Realm, and ought to be protected by your Majesty, quietly to attend and prosecute that great Service.

They humbly remonstrate and protest before God, your Majesty, and the Noble Lords and Peers now assembled in Parliament, That, as they have an indubitate Right to sit and Vote in the House of the Lords, so are they (if they may be protected from force and violence) most ready and willing to performe their Duties accordingly. And that they do abominate all Actions, or Opinions, tending to Popery, and the mayntenance thereof; as also, all propension and inclination to any malignant party, or any other side, or party, whatsoever, to the which their own Reasons and Consciences shall not move them to adhere.

But, whereas they have been at several times violently Menaced, Affronted, and Assaulted, by multitudes of people, in their coming to performe their Services in that Honourable House; and lately chased-away, and put in danger of their lives, and can find no redresse, or protection, upon sundry complaints made to both Houses in these particulars.

They likewise humbly protest before your Majesty, and the Noble House of Peers, That, saving unto themselves, all their Rights and Interests of Sitting and Voting in that House at other times, they dare not Sit, or Vote, in the House of Peers, until your Majesty shall further secure them from all Affronts, Indignities, and dangers in the premisses.

Lastly, Whereas their fears are not built upon Phantasies and Conceits, but upon such Grounds and Objects, as may well terrifie men of good Resolutions, and much Constancy: They do, in all duty and humility, protest before your Majesty, and the Peers of that most Honourable House of Parliament, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations, as in themselves Null, and of none effect; which in their absence, since the 27th of this instant Moneth of December, 1641, have already passed; as, likewise, against all such as shall hereafter passe in that most Honourable House, during the time of this their forced and violent absence from the said most Honourable House; not denying, but, if their absenting of themselves were wilful and voluntary, that most Honourable

House might proceed in all these premises, their absence, or this their Protestation notwithstanding.

And humbly beseeching your Most Excellent Majesty to command the Clerk of that House of Peers, to enter this their Petition and Protestation amongst his Records.

They will ever pray to God so blesse and preserve, &c.

Jo. Eborac, Thomas Duresme, Robert Co. Lich, Jos. Norwich, Jo. Asaphen, Guil. Ba. & Wels, Geo. Hereford, Rob. Oxon, Ma. Ely, Godfr. Glouc., Jo. Peterburg, Mor. Llandaff.

Vera Copia Jo. Brown Cleric. Parliament.

THE House of Lords was pleased on the thirtieth of *December*, to send a Message to the House of Commons, by Sir *John Banks*, and Judge *Reeves*, to desire a present Conference, by a Committee of both Houses touching matters of dangerous and high consequence.

And at the Conference, the Lord-Keeper, in the name of the House of Peers, delivered as followeth :

That this Petition and Protestation of the twelve Bishops, containing matters of high and dangerous Consequence, and such as my Lords are very sensible of, and such as require a speedy and sudden Resolution ; it extending to the deep entrenching upon the Fundamental Priviledges and Being of Parliament : Therefore the Lords have thought fit that this matter, concerning the whole Parliament, may be communicated to the House of Commons ; it being a thing of so great and so general Concernment.

This being thus communicated to the House of Commons, they came to this Resolution, To accuse these twelve Bishops of high Treason, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws and Being of Parliaments.

And Master *Glyn* was ordered to goe to the Lords, and at their Bar, in the name of the House of Commons, and all the Commons of *England*, To accuse these 12 Prelates of high Treason for endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the very Being of Parliaments, manifested by Preferring that Petition and Protestation ; And to desire the Lords that they may be forthwith sequestred from Parliament, and put into safe Custody ; and that their Lordships would appoint a speedy day for the Commons to charge them, and for them to answer : for that the Commons were ready to make good their Charge.

He was further ordered to give the Lords thanks for communicating this Petition, with so much affection and speed, and for expressing their sense thereof.

After Master *Glyn* had delivered this at the Bar, the Lords sent the Black Rod instantly, to find-out these Bishops, and apprehend them ; and by eight of the clock at night, they were all taken, and brought upon their knees to the Bar, and

ten of them committed to the Tower ; and two (in regard of their Age, and indeed of the worthy parts of one of them, the learned Bishop of *Durham*) were committed to the Black Rod.

*A Proposition or Message, sent the 31st of December, 1641, to His
MAJESTIE,*

By the HOUSE of COMMONS, for a GUARD.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE are sent by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, your faithful and loyal Subjects (who are ready to lay-downe their lives and fortunes, and spend the last drop of their blood, to maintaine your Crowne and Royal Person, in greatnesse and glory, and do, by us, cast themselves downe at your Royal feet,) to present unto your Majestie their humble desires, upon their great apprehensions, and just fears, of mischievous designes and practises, to ruin and destroy them. There have been several attempts heretofore to bring destruction upon their whole Body at once, and threats and menaces against particular persons. There is a malignant party bitterly envenomed against them, daily gathering strength and confidence, and now come to such height as they have given boldnesse to some to imbrue their hands in the blood of your Subjects, in the face, and at the doors of the Parliament, and at your Majestie's own gates, and have given-out insolent and menacing speeches against the Parliament itselfe. This causeth great distractions among the people in general, and much feare and apprehension in the House of Commons ; That they conceive they cannot, with the safetie of their persons, (upon which the safetie and peace of the whole Kingdome doth now depend,) sit any longer unarmed and unguarded, as they are. They have therefore their recourse unto your Majestie, most humbly beseeching you, that it may stand with your good liking, if they provide for their own safetie, which the very law of Nature and Reason doth allow unto them ; It is their humble desire, that they may have a Guard out of the City of *London*, commanded by the Earle of *Essex*, Lord Chamberlaine of your Majestie's Houshold, of whose fidelity to your Majestie, and the Commonwealth, they have had long experience. By this, your Majestie's Grace and Favour, you will remove their fears, fill them with comfort and assurance, and enable them to serve your Majesty in such a way as shall render your Majesty and your Government happy and glorious. And to this they do most humbly desire your Majestie's gracious and speedy Answer, because their safetie, and the safetie of the whole Kingdome, depends upon it, and will not admit of any delay.

His MAJESTIE'S Answer to the Message, or Proposition, sent the last of December past, by the House of COMMONS, for a GUARD.

WE have taken the last Message from you, touching your desire of a Guard, into serious consideration, and truly with great grief of heart (that, after a whole yeer's sitting of this Parliament, wherein you have obtained those things, for the happinesse and security of yourselves, and the rest of Our Subjects, as no age can equal) instead of reaping in Peace and tranquillity the fruits of your Labours, and of Our Grace and affection to Our People, We should finde Jealousies, Distrusts, and Fears, still so prevalent amongst you, as to induce you to declare them unto Us in so high a measure as you have done at this time.

We are wholly ignorant of the Grounds of your Apprehensions: but this We do Protest before Almighty God, (to whom We must be accountable for those whom he hath intrusted to Our care and Protection,) that had we any knowledge, or belief, of the least design in any, of Violence, either formerly, or at this time, against you, We would pursue them to condigne punishment, with the same severity and detestation, that We would do the greatest attempt upon Our Crown.

We know the duty of that place where God hath set Us, the Protection We owe to all Our Loyal Subjects, and most particularly to you, called to Our Service by Our Writs; And We do engage unto you solemnly the word of a King, That the security of all and every one of you from violence, is, and shall ever be, as much Our care, as the Preservation of Us and Our Children.

And, if this general Assurance shall not suffice to remove your Apprehensions, We will command such a Guard to wait upon you, as We will be responsible for to Him, who hath encharged Us with the Safetie and Protection of Our Subjects.

WHITEHALL, 3d Jan. 1641.

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To the KING'S Most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble Petition of the MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMON COUNCIL, of the City of LONDON.

MAY it please Your Most Excellent Majesty; The often expressions of Your most gracious acceptance of the manifestation of the Petitioners duty and loyalty, and the frequent Declarations of Your Majestie's great care of the good and welfare of
of

of this City, and of the true Protestant Religion, and of protecting and preserving the Persons and Priviledges of your great Councill, assembled in the High Court of Parliament: Each encouraged the Petitioners to represent the great Dangers, Fears, and Distractions wherein the City now is, by reason of the prevailing progress of the bloody Rebels in *Ireland*, fomented, and Acted by the Papists and their Adherents, and want of Aid to suppress them, and the several intimations they have had both Foreign and at Home, of the driving-on of their Designs, tending to the utter ruin of the Protestant Religion, and of the Lives and Liberties of Your Majestie's loyal Subjects, the putting-out of Persons of Honour and Trust from being Constable and Lieutenant of the Tower, especially in these times, and the preparations there lately made, the fortifying of *Whitehall* with men and munition in an unusual manner: Some of which men, with provoking language and violence, abused divers Citizens passing-by, and the drawing divers swords, and therewith wounding sundry other Citizens in *Westminster-Hall*, that were unarmed: the late endeavours used to the Innes of Court, the calling-in divers Cannoniers, and other assistance, into the Tower, the late discovery of divers fire-works in the hands of a Papist, and the misunderstanding betwixt Your Majesty and Parliament, by reason of misinformation, as they humbly conceive.

Besides all which, the Petitioners fears are exceedingly increased by your Majestie's late going to the House of Commons, attended with a great multitude of armed men, besides Your ordinary Guard, for the apprehending of divers Members of that House, to the endangering of Your Sacred Person, and of the Persons and Priviledges of that Honourable Assembly.

The effects of all which Fears tend, not only to the overthrow of the whole Trade of this City and Kingdom, which the Petitioners already feel in a deep measure; but also threaten the utter ruin of the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of all Your Loyal Subjects.

The Petitioners therefore most humbly pray Your Sacred Majesty, That, by the advice of Your great Council in Parliament, the Protestants in *Ireland* may be speedily relieved, The Tower put into the hands of Persons of trust: That, by removal of doubtful and unknown Persons from about *Whitehall* and *Westminster*, a known and approved Guard may be appointed for the safety of Your Majesty and Parliament, and that the Lord *Mandevill*, and the five Members of the House of Commons lately accused, may not be restrained of liberty, or proceeded-against, otherwise than according to the Priviledges of Parliament.

And the Petitioners (as in all duty bound) shall pray for Your Majestie's most long and happy Reign, &c.

His

HIS MAJESTIE'S *Answer to the Petition of the MAYOR, ALDERMEN,
and COMMON COUNCIL of the City of LONDON.*

HIS Majesty having fully considered the matter of this Petition, is graciously pleased to declare, That being unalterably resolved to make good all His Expressions and Declarations of His care of this City, Of the true Protestant Religion, and of the Priviledges of Parliament; His Majesty takes in good part, the intimation given by the Petitioners, of the fears and distractions wherein the City now seems to be. And though He conceives He did on Wednesday, at the Guildhall, satisfy most of those particulars, is pleased to add this further Answer.

1. That for the sad business of *Ireland*, His Majesty cannot possibly express a greater sense than He hath done, there being nothing left on His Majestie's part unoffered or undone. And He hoped, by the speedy advice and assistance of His Parliament, that great and necessary Work would be put in a just forwardness, to which His Majesty will contribute all His power: And how zealous He is, and hath been therein, will appear in a Declaration speedily to be set-forth by His Majesty.

2. For the Tower: His Majesty wonders, that having removed a Servant of good Trust and Reputation, from that Charge, only to satisfy the fears of the City, and put in another of unquestionable Reputation, and known ability, the Petitioners should still entertain those fears; and whatever preparation of Strength is there made, is with as great an eye of safety and advantage to the City, as to His Majestie's own Person, and shall be equally employed to both.

3. For the fortifying of *Whitehall* with Men and Munition in an unusual way: His Majesty doubts not, but the Petitioners have observed the strange provocation He hath received to entertain that Guard: That by the disorderly, and tumultuous conflux of people at *Westminster* and *Whitehall*, his Majestie's great Council was not only disquieted, but his own Royal Person in danger, most seditious language being uttered even under His own windows, whilst the examination and punishing such Tumults by the course of Law were interrupted and stopped. And if any citizens were wounded or ill-intreated, His Majesty is confidently assured, that it happened by their own evil and corrupt demeanours.

4. His Majesty knows no other endeavours to the Innes of Court, then a gracious Intimation, That He received the tender of their loyal and dutiful Affections with very good Approbation and acceptance, and an encouragement given them to continue the same upon all occasions. Neither doth His Majesty know, what discovery hath been lately made of Fire-works in the hands of any Papist.

5. For his going to the House of Commons (when his attendants were no otherwise armed than, as Gentlemen, with swords,) his Majesty is verily persuaded, That, if the Petitioners knew the clear grounds upon which those Persons stand accused of high Treason, and what will be proved against them, (which in due time

time they shall be acquainted with,) and considered the gentle way his Majesty took for their apprehension (which he preferred before any course of violence, though that way had been very justifiable; for his Majesty is very well assured, that it is notoriously known, That no privilege of Parliament can extend to Treason, Felony, or breach of the Peace,) the Petitioners would believe his Majesty's going thither, was an act of grace and favour to that House, and the most peaceable way of having that necessary service, for the apprehension of those persons, performed; especially, if such Orders have been made (which his Majesty is not willing to believe) for the resistance of all lawful Authority, as are discoursed-of.

6. And for the Proceedings against those Persons mentioned in the Petition; his Majesty ever intended the same should be, with all justice and favour according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; to the which all innocent men would cheerfully submit.

And this extraordinary way, of satisfying a Petition of so unusual a nature, his Majesty is confidently persuaded, will be thought the greatest instance can be given of his Majesty's clear intention to his Subjects, and of the singular estimation he hath of the good affections of this City, which he believes in gratitude will never be wanting to his just Commands and Service.

By the KING.

A PROCLAMATION for a General Fast throughout this REALM of ENGLAND.

HIS Majesty, taking into His Princely and Pious consideration, the lamentable and distressed estate of His good Subjects, in His Majesty's kingdom of *Ireland*, and conceiving it to be a just and great occasion calling upon Him, and His people of this His kingdom of *England*, for a general humiliation of all estates of this kingdom before Almighty God, in Prayer and Fasting, for drawing-down His Mercy and Blessing upon that kingdom: His Majesty doth therefore by this His Proclamation, straightly charge and command, that a General, Publick, and Solemn, Fast be kept and holden, as well by abstinence from food as by publick Prayers, Preaching, and hearing of the Word of God, and other Sacred duties, in all Cathedrall, Collegiate, and Parish-Churches and Chapels within this His Majesty's kingdom of *England*, and dominion of *Wales*, (His Majesty's Cities of *London* and *Westminster* only excepted, where it hath already been observed,) on the twentieth day of this present Month of January.

And His Majesty doth further, by this His Proclamation, straightly charge and command, that a General, Publick, and Solemn Fast be kept and holden, as well
by

by abstinence from food, as by publick Prayers, Preaching, and hearing of the Word of God, and other sacred Duties, in all Cathedral, Collegiate, and Parish Churches, and Chapels, within this kingdom of *England*, and dominion of *Wales*, (without any exception) on the last Wednesday of the month of February next following the date hereof, and from thenceforth to continue, on the last Wednesday of every Month, during the Troubles in the said kingdom of *Ireland*. All which, His Majesty doth expressly charge and command, shall be reverently and devoutly performed by all His loving Subjects, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid His just indignation against this Land, and upon pain of such punishments as His Majesty can justly inflict, upon all such as shall contemn or neglect so religious a Work.

Given at the Court at Whitehall the eighth day of January, in the seventeenth year of His Majestie's Reign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

God save the King.

The KING's MESSAGE to both Houses, January 12, 1641.

HIS Majesty, taking notice that some conceive it disputable whether His proceedings against my Lord *Kymbolton*, Master *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Master *Pym*, Master *Hampden*, and Master *Strode*, be legal and agreeable to the Priviledges of Parliament, and being very desirous to give satisfaction to all men, in all matters that may seem to have relation to Priviledge; is pleased to wave his former Proceedings: and, all doubts by this means being settled, when the minds of men are composed, his Majesty will proceed thereupon in an unquestionable way: And assures his Parliament, that upon all occasions he will be as careful of their Priviledges, as of his Life or his Crown.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble PETITION of the INHABITANTS of the County of BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners, having, by virtue of your Highness's Writ, chosen *John Hampden* Knight for our Shire, in whose loyalty We, his Countrymen and Neighbours, have ever had good cause to confide: However, of late, to our no less amazement than grief, we find him with other Members of Parliament, accused of Treason: And having taken to our serious consideration, the manner of their

their Impeachment, we cannot but (under your Majestie's favour) conceive that it doth so oppugne the Rights of Parliament, to the maintainance whereof our Protestation binds us, that we believe it is the malice, which their zeal to your Majestie's Service and the State, hath contracted in the enemies to your Majesty, the Church, and Common-wealth, hath occasioned this foul Accusation, rather than any deserts of theirs, who do likewise, through their sides, wound the Judgment and Care of us your Petitioners, and others, by whose choice they were presented to the House.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray, that Master Hampden, and the rest that lie under the burden of that Accusation, may enjoy the just Priviledges of Parliament.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Windsor, 13 Jan. 1641.

HIS Majesty being graciously pleased to let all his Subjects understand his care, not knowingly to violate, in the least degree, any of the Priviledges of Parliament, hath therefore (lately) by a Message sent by the Lord-Keeper, signified, That he is pleased, because of the doubt that hath been raised of the manner, to Wave his former proceedings against Master *Hampden* and the rest, mentioned in this Petition; concerning whom, his Majesty intends to proceed in an unquestionable way. And then, his Majesty saith, It will appear, that he had so sufficient grounds to question them, as he might not in Justice to the kingdom, and honour to himself, have forborn: And yet his Majesty had much rather, that the said Persons should prove innocent than be found guilty: However, he cannot conceive that their Crimes can in any sort reflect upon those his good Subjects who elected them to serve in Parliament.

Die Jovis, 13. Januarii, 1641.

WHEREAS Information hath been given to the Parliament, that the Lord *Digby* (son to the Earl of *Bristol*) and Colonel *Lunsford*, with others, have gathered Troops of Horse, and have appeared in a warlike manner, at *Kingston upon Thames*, in the County of *Surry*, (where the Magazine of Arms for that part of the County lies) to the terrour and affright of His Majestie's good Subjects, and disturbance of the publick weal of the Kingdom:

It is this day ordered, by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, That the Sheriffs of the several Counties of *England* and *Wales*, calling to their assistance the Justices of the Peace, and the Trained-Bands of those several Counties, (or so many of them as shall be necessary for the service) shall suppress all unlawful Assemblies gathered-together, to the disturbance of the publick peace of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, in their several Counties respectively: And that they take care to secure the said Counties, and all the Magazines in them.

Die Veneris, viz. 14. die Jan. 1641.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that this Order be printed and published in all the Market-towns in this Kingdom.

John Brown, Cler. Parliament.

HIS MAJESTIE'S Profession and Addition to His last MESSAGE to the PARLIAMENT, January 14, 1641.

HIS Majesty (being no less tender of the Priviledges of Parliament, and thinking himself no less concerned, that they be not broken, and that they be asserted and vindicated whensoever they are broken, than the Parliament itself,) hath thought fit to add to his last Message this Profession, "That in all his proceedings against the Lord *Kymbolton*, Master *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Master *Pym*, Master *Hampden*, and Master *Strode*, He had never the least intention of violating the least Priviledge of Parliament; And, in case any doubt of Breach of Priviledges remain, will be willing to clear that, and assert those, by any reasonable way that His Parliament shall advise Him to." Upon confidence of which, He no way doubts His Parliament will forthwith lay-by all Jealousies, and apply themselves to the publick and pressing Affairs, and especially to those of *Ireland*, wherein the good of this Kingdom, and the true Religion, (which shall ever be His Majestie's first care) are so highly and so nearly concerned: And His Majesty assures himself, that His care of their Priviledges will increase their tenderness of His lawful Prerogative, which are so necessary to the mutual defence of each other; and both which will be the foundation of a perpetual perfect-Intelligence between His Majesty and his Parliaments, and of the happiness and prosperity of his people.

The Questions propounded to Master ATTORNEY GENERAL, by the House of COMMONS, and his Answer thereunto.

Question 1.

WHETHER did you contrive, frame, or advise, the said Articles, or any of them?

Answer.

I will deal ingenuously and freely, and shall say the same which before I did to your Lordships; I need no longer time to answer this: I did none of these three, neither contrive, frame, or advise these Articles, or any of them, and will be content to die if I did it.

Question

Question 2.

Whether do you know the truth of the said Articles, or any of them, in your own knowledge, or by information?

Answer.

I doe know nothing of my own knowledge of the truth of this, nor of any particular, nor have heard by information; This I speake upon the truth of an honest man, and nothing was ever said unto me of this, but by my Master, the King.

Question 3.

Whether will you undertake to make good the said Articles, or any of them, when you shall be thereunto called by due course of Law?

Answer.

By my former expression you may discern what answer I can make to this; I cannot undertake to make one tittle good in them, otherwise than my Master shall command me and enable me: for of myself I cannot, nor will not, no more than one that never heard of them.

Question 4.

From whom received you these Articles, and by whose direction and advice did you exhibit them.

Answer.

It was by my Master the King, his expresse command, I did exhibit them; from his hand I did receive them.

Question 5.

Whether had you any testimony, or proof, of these Articles, before the exhibiting of them.

Answer.

For the exhibiting of these Articles I received His Majestie's command.

To which Answer Master Serjeant *Wilde* replied, "The House of Commons desires you to answer, whether you had any prooffe, or testimony, or any information of any proof of these Articles; they in no kind desire to know *what* you had." To this Master Attorney answered, "There is nothing in this world that I shall not be most ready to; but this I desire time to consider of, in regard of a trust between a Master and Servant."

Die. Sab. 15 Jan. 1641.

It is resolved by the House of Commons, since the said Answer of Master Attorney-General, That he hath broken the priviledge of Parliament, in preferring the said Articles, and that the same is illegal, and he criminous for so doing; and that a charge be sent-up to the Lords in the name of the House of Commons, against Master Attorney, to have satisfaction for this great scandal and injury to the Members thereof, unlesse, by Thursday next, he bring-in his prooffe, and make good (if he can) the said Articles against the said persons, or any of them.

HIS MAJESTIE'S LETTER to the Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of
ENGLAND, concerning Sir Edward Herbert, Knight, &c.

CHARLES REX.

RIGHT trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, We greet you well, and have thought good hereby to certifie that We did the third of *January* last, deliver to Our Attourney certain Articles of Accusation ingrossed in *paper*, a Copy whereof We have sent here inclosed, and did then command him in Our Name, to acquaint Our House of Peers, that divers great and Treasonable designs and practices against us and the State had come to *Our knowledge*; for which We commanded him, in Our Name, to accuse the six persons in the said paper mentioned of High Treason, and other high misdemeanors, by delivering the paper to Our said House, and to desire to have it read, and further to desire in Our name, that a Select Committee of Lords, might be appointed to take the examination of such Witnesses as We would produce, and as formerly had been done in cases of like Nature, according to the Justice of the House, and the Committee to be under a command of secrecie as formerly, and further in Our Name to ask liberty to add and alter, if there should be cause: We do further declare, that Our said Attorney, *did not advise*, or contrive the said Articles, nor had any thing to do with them, or in advising any breach of Priviledge that followed after. And for what he did in obedience to our commands, We conceive he was bound by oath and the duty of his place, and by the trust by Us reposed in him so to do: And, if he had refused to obey Us therein, We would have questioned him for breach of Oath, Duty, and Trust.

But now, having declared, that we find cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the persons accused, We have commanded him to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor *discover* any proof concerning the same.

Given at *Royston*, the fourth of *March*, 1641.

HIS MAJESTIE'S MESSAGE, sent to both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT,
20 *January*, 1641.

HIS Majestie, perceiving the manifold distractions which are now in this Kingdom, which cannot but bring great inconvenience and mischiefs to this whole Government; In which as His Majestie is most chiefly interested, so He holds himselfe, by many Reasons, most obliged to do what in Him lies, for the preventing thereof; Though he might justly expect (as most proper for the duty of Subjects) that Propositions for the remedies of these Evils ought rather to come to Him than *from* him; yet (His fatherly care of all His people being such, that He will rather lay-by any particular respect of His owne Dignity than that any time should be lost for prevention of these threatening Evils, which cannot admit the delays

delays of the ordinary proceedings in Parliament) doth think fit to make this ensuing Proposition to both Houses of Parliament: "That they will, with all speed, fall into a serious consideration of all those particulars, which they should hold necessary, as well for the upholding and maintaining of His Majestie's just and Regal Authority, and for the settling of His Revenue, As for the present and future establishment of their Priviledges; The free and quiet enjoying of their Estates and Fortunes; The Liberties of their Persons; The security of the true Religion now professed in the Church of *England*; And the settling of Ceremonies in such a manner as may take-away all just offence." Which when they shall have digested, and composed into one entire body, that so His Majestie and themselves may be able to make the more cleare Judgement of them; it shall then appeare, by what his Majestie shall do, how far He hath been from intending, or designing, any of those things, which the too great Feares and Jealousies of some Persons seem to apprehend; And how ready He will be to equal and exceed the greatest Examples of the most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to their people. So that, if all the present Distractions (which so apparently threaten the ruine of this Kingdom) do not (by the blessing of Almighty God) end in an happy and blessed accommodation; His Majesty will then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man, to witnesse, that it hath not failed on His part.

The King's Proposition to both Houses of Parliament.

Die Iovis, 20 Januarii, 1641.

Lords House,

WHEREAS the Lords in the Upper House of Parliament, do find that there are many Petitions concerning private persons depending now before their Lordships, and conceive that many more may be brought into that House, if timely advertisement be not given to the contrary; which may occasion the Repair and Attendance, of divers of His Majestie's loving Subjects upon their Lordships, who cannot give a dispatch to private businesses, by reason of the many publick and great Affaires that now lie before them, concerning the Safety and Weale of His Majestie's Kingdomes:

It is therefore thought fit, and so Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, That all private businesses shall be hereby deferred and put-off, until the 21st of *March* next; Whereof this House doth hereby give notice to all His Majestie's loving people, to prevent the charge and trouble which otherwise the Petitioners might be put unto, in repairing unto this House, at this time.

The consideration of Petitions concerning private Persons is put-off to the 21st day of next March, 1641-42.

HIS MAJESTIE'S LETTER, *January 24, In ANSWER to the PETITION of both Houses of PARLIAMENT, as it was presented by the Earl of NEWPORT, and the Lord SEYMER, January 21, 1641.*

HIS Majesty having seen and considered the Petition presented unto Him, the one and twentieth of this instant, by the Earl of *Newport*, and the Lord *Seymer*,
in

in the Names of both Houses of Parliament, Is pleased to return this Answer. That He doth well approve of the desire of Houses, for the speedy proceeding against the persons mentioned in the Petition; whereof His Majestie, finding the great inconveniences by the first mistake in the way, hath endured some delayes, that He might be informed in what Order to put the same. But, before that that be agreed-upon, His Majesty thinks it unusual, or unfit, to discover what prooffe is against them, and therefore holds it necessary, (lest a new mistake should breed more delayes; which His Majesty, to His power, will avoid,) "That it be resolved "whether His Majesty be bound, in respect of Priviledges, to proceed against them "by Impeachment in Parliament; Or whether He be at liberty to prefer an Indite- "ment at the Common Law, in the usual way, or have His choice of either:" Whereupon His Majesty will give such speedy directions for Prosecution, as shall shew His Majestie's desire to satisfie both Houses, and to put a determination to the business.

SCOTS COMMISSIONERS PROPOSITION, 24 January 1641, Touching
the sending of the 2500 Men into IRELAND.

CONCERNING the Proposition made to Us, the 22nd of January, from the Committees of both Houses for the Transporting presently to Ireland of the 2500 Men now on foot in Scotland; We, having no Instruction for that end, cannot, by Ourselves, condescend otherwise than upon the closure of the Treatie: but shall most heartily represent it to the Council of Scotland, and second the same with our earnest desires, that every thing may be done, which may contribute to the preservation of that Kingdom, and may testifie our Brotherly affection to this. And, that we may be the more able to move the Council to condescend to the same, We desire the Propositions following to be granted.

1. That provision of Victuals be presently sent to *Carrickfergus*, to be sold to our souldiers at reasonable rates, answerable to their Pay.

2. That an Order be set-downe how they shall be paid there, and from whom they may require the same.

3. That they have the Command and keeping of the Towne and Castle of *Carrickfergus*, with power to them to remain still within the same, or to enlarge their Quarters, and to go abroad in the Countrey upon such occasions, as their Officers in their discretion shall think expedient for the good of that Kingdome. And, if it shall be thought fit that any Regiments, or Troops, in that Province, shall joine with them, that they shall receive Orders from the Commanders of our Forces.

4. That provision of Match, Powder, and Ball, be presently sent to *Carrickfergus*; and that, whatever Armes, Ammunition, or Artillery, shall be sent-over with them from Scotland, the like quantitie shall be sent from hence to Scotland, whensoever the same shall be demanded.

5. That

5. That a part of the 30,000 pounds of the Brotherly-Assistance be presently advanced to Us, which although, in a just proportion to these men, it will amount but to 7500 pounds, yet, for the better furthering of the Service, we desire 10,000 pounds, if it may stand with your convenience.

6. That their Pay, which was condescended unto from the eighth of *December*, be presently advanced to the eighth of *February* next, against which time we are confident they shall be ready to march.

7. That a man of warre, or some Merchants Ships, be sent from *Bristol*, *Westchester*, or *Dublin*, to *Lochryan*, for a safe Convoy and Guard of the Passage, because they being in open Boats, may be subject to inconveniences from the Enemy, whose Frigates we hear are towards that coast.

8. That the sending-over of these men be without prejudice to the proceeding of the Treaty, which we desire may go-on without any delay.

Westm. 24 Jan. 1641.

Ia. Prymrose.

Resolved, that the House of Commons doth agree unto these particular Propositions now presented from the Scots Commissioners.

Ordered, that the House of Peeres, agreeth with the House of Commons, unto these Propositions from the Scots Commissioners, in every particular.

HIS MAJESTIE'S ANSWER to the Proposition above-mentioned, given the 26th of Jan. 1641, at Windsor.

HIS Majestie, having perused and considered these eight Propositions presented by the Scots Commissioners, doth willingly consent to them all, except only the third, which His Majesty doth not approve, and wisheth the Houses to take that Article again into consideration, as a business of very great importance, which His Majesty doubts may be prejudicial to the Crown of *Eng'and*, and the service intended: And, if the Houses desire it, His Majesty shall not be unwilling to speak with the Scots Commissioners, to see what satisfaction He can give them therein.

HIS MAJESTIE'S further ANSWER to the third Article of the said Proposition of the Scots-Commissioners, resolved on the 26th, and given on the 27th of January, 1641, at Windsor.

AFTER that His Majesty had (yesterday) sent His opinion concerning the Articles which the Scots Commissioners gave-in, touching the present supplies to be sent for *Ireland*; they themselves waited on him, their chief Errand being the self-same business; Whereupon His Majesty thought it fit to persuade them (as much

much as he could) to alter the third Article, because he conceived it might be a prejudice to the Crown of *England*, the particulars whereof were too long to relate: Their only Argument that weighed with him, being, That (since it was agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, and that the strength of His Majestie's Argument was, that Article implied too great a Trust for Auxiliary Forces) they were in good hope that His Majesty, being their native King, would not shew less trust in them, than their Neighbour Nation. So that the Question being (merely) of Trust, and that both Houses of Parliament have thought fit to grant it (though His Majesty could wish that that third Article were drawn more for the advantage of the Crown of *England* than he conceives it is) His Majesty cannot but wholly admit of the Advice of his Parliament in this particular, especially since His Majesty perceives, that insisting upon the same would breed a great delay in the necessary supply of his Kingdom of *Ireland*.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble PETITION of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, and BURGESSES, of the COMMONS HOUSE, now in PARLIAMENT assembled January 26, 1641-42.

Humbly sheweth,

That the Tower of London, and the other Fortresses of the Kingdom, and the whole Militia thereof, be put into the hands of Persons recommended by the two Houses of Parliament.

THAT, whereas the Houses of Parliament have received a grievous Message from your Majesty, dated the twentieth day of this instant January, your Petitioners return to your Majesty most humble thanks, resolving to take it into speedy and serious consideration. And, to enable them, with security, to discharge their Duties therein, they desired the House of Peers to join with them, in humbly beseeching your sacred Majesty to raise-up unto them a sure ground of safety and confidence, by putting the Tower, and other principal Forts of the Kingdom, and the whole Militia thereof, into the hands of such Persons as your Parliament might confide-in, and as should be recommended unto your Majesty by both Houses of Parliament, that (all Fears and Jealousies being laid-aside,) they might, with all cheerfulness, proceed to such resolutions as, they hoped, would lay a sure foundation of Honour, Greatness, and Glory to your Majesty, and your Royal Posterity; and of Happiness and Prosperity unto your Subjects throughout all your Dominions. Wherein the House of Peers have refused to join with your Petitioners. They, notwithstanding, no way discouraged, but confiding in your Majestie's Goodness to your people, do therefore make their humble address to your Majesty, to beseech you, That the Tower of *London*, and other principal Forts, and the whole Militia of the Kingdom, may be put into the hands of such persons as shall be recommended unto your Majesty by your Petitioners; not doubting but they shall receive a gracious and speedy Answer to this their humble desire; without which, in all humane Reason, the great distractions of this Kingdom must needs overwhelm it with misery and ruin.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

HIS

HIS MAJESTIE'S ANSWER to the PETITION of the COMMONS HOUSE,
January 28, 1641.

HIS Majesty having seriously considered of the Petition presented to Him from the House of Commons, on Wednesday, the twenty-sixth of this Month, Returns this Answer :

THAT he was in good hope His gracious Message, of the twentieth of this Month, to both Houses, would have produced some such overture, which, by offering what is fit on their parts to do, and asking what is proper for His Majesty to grant, might beget a mutual confidence in each other.

Concerning the Tower of *London*, His Majesty did not expect, that, having preferred a person * of a known Fortune, and unquestionable Reputation, to that Trust, He should be pressed to remove him, without any particular charge objected against him ; and, therefore, returns this Answer :

That, if, upon due examination, any particular shall be presented to His Majesty, whereby it may appear, that His Majesty was mistaken in His opinion of this Gentleman, and that he is unfit for the Trust committed to him, His Majesty will make no scruple of discharging him : But, otherwise, His Majesty is obliged, in justice to himself, to preserve his own work, lest his favour, and good Opinion, may prove a disadvantage and misfortune to his Servants, without any other Accusation : Of which, His Majesty doubts not, His House of Commons would be so tender (as of a business wherein His Majestie's honour is so much concerned), that, if they find no material exception against this Person, they will rather endeavour to satisfy and reform the fears of other men, than, by complying with them, press His Majesty to any Resolution which may seem so much to reflect upon his Honour and Justice.

For the Forts and Castles of the Kingdom, His Majesty is resolved that they shall always be in such hands (and only such) as the Parliament may safely confide-in ; but the nomination of any Persons to those Places (being so principal and inseparable a Flower of his Crown, vested in Him, and derived unto Him from His Ancestors, by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom) He will reserve to Himself ; in bestowing whereof, as His Majesty will take care that no corrupt, or sinister, courses shall prevail with Him : so He is willing to declare, That He shall not be induced to express that favour so soon to any persons, as to those whose good demeanour shall be eminent in, or to His Parliament. And if He now hath, or shall, at any time, by mis-information, confer such a Trust upon an undeserving Person, He is, and will always be, ready to leave him to the Wisdom and Justice of His Parliament.

For the Militia of the Kingdom, (which, by the Law, is subject to no command, but of His Majesty, and of Authority lawfully derived from Him) when any particular course, for the ordering the same (which His Majesty holds very Militia.

* Sir John Byron.

necessary for the peace and security of His Kingdom) shall be considered and digested by His Parliament, and proposed to His Majesty; His Majesty will return such an Answer, as shall be agreeable to His Honour, and the safety of His People, His Majesty being resolved only to deny those things, the granting whereof would alter the fundamental Laws, and endanger the very foundation, upon which the publick happiness, and welfare of his People, is founded and constituted, and would nourish a greater, and more destructive, Jealousy between the Crown and the Subject, than any of those which would seem to be taken-away by such a satisfaction.

And His Majesty doth not doubt, that his having granted more than ever King hath granted, will ever persuade his House of Commons to ask more than ever Subjects have asked. And if they shall acquaint His Majesty with the particular Grounds of their Doubts and Fears, He will very willingly apply Remedies proportionable to those Fears; For His Majesty calls God to witness, that the preservation of the publick peace, The Law, and the Liberty of the Subject, is, and shall always be, as much His Majestie's care and industry, as of his life, or the Lives of his dearest children.

And, therefore, His Majesty doth conjure his House of Commons, by all the Acts of Duty and favour they have received from him this Parliament; By their hopes of future happiness in His Majesty, and in one another; By their love of Religion, and the peace of this Kingdom, (in which that of *Ireland* cannot be forgotten) That they will not be transported by Jealousies and Apprehensions of possible dangers, to put themselves, or His Majesty, into real and present inconveniences, but that they will speedily pursue the way proposed by His Majestie's former Message, which, in human Reason, is the only way to compose the Distractions of the Kingdom, and, with God's blessing, will restore a great Measure of felicity to King and People.

Die Sabbathi, 29 Januarii, 1641.

An ORDER made by both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, to prevent the going-over of POPISH COMMANDERS into IRELAND, and also to hinder the transportation of Arms, Ammunition, Money, Corn, Victuals, and all other provision to the REBELS, and for the sending-back of the IRISH PAPISTS lately come-over.

WHEREAS great numbers of Papists, both English and Irish, (some whereof have been, and are, Commanders in the Wars; and others, such as have Estates in *England*,) have gone-out of this Kingdom into *Ireland*, immediately before, and during, the barbarous and bloody Rebellion there, and traiterously joined themselves with the Rebels of that Nation against His Majesty, and the Crown of *England*; and, likewise, divers other Popish Commanders, and such as have Estates in *England*, are daily preparing to go thither, to the same wicked ends:

And

And great store of Armes, Ammunition, Money, Corn, and other Victuals, and Provisions, have been sent, and are daily preparing to be sent to that Kingdom, for the assistance, and encouragement of those Rebels: for prevention whereof, the Lords and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, Do hereby Order, and straightly charge, and command, all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other His Majestie's Officers, within the Realm of *England*, and Dominions of *Wales*; That they apprehend, and examine all such persons, as they shall suspect to be Papists, and going-out of this Kingdom, or the Dominion of *Wales*, into *Ireland*. And that they also make stay of all Arms, Munition, Money, Corn, and other Victuals, and Provisions, which they shall suspect to be preparing for transportation into *Ireland*, for the aid, and relief of the Rebels there; and to give speedy notice thereof, unto the Parliament.

And whereas, Also, divers poor People, Men, Women, and Children, of the Irish Nation, and Papists, have lately come, in great numbers, out of *Ireland*, into *Cornwall*, *Devon*, and other parts of this Kingdom, where they have been, and are very disorderly, and much terrify the Inhabitants, where they come, and due care is not taken in all places, for the suppressing, and punishing of them: The Lords and Commons in this Parliament Assembled, Do hereby further Order, and require, all Officers before-mentioned, That they put the Laws in due execution, against such wandering Irish Papists, before expressed, and that they cause them to be forthwith conveyed-back into that Kingdom.

This Order was read, and by Vote upon the Question, assented-unto, and ordered to be fair-written, and sent-up to the Lords, by Master Carew.

Master *Carew* brings answer, That the Lords do fully agree with the House in this Order.

Hen. Elsing, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY,

The humble Petition of the LORDS and COMMONS assembled in PARLIAMENT.

Most gracious Sovereign,

THE present Evils and Calamities, wherewith your Kingdomes are most miserably entangled, the imminent dangers which threaten your Royal Person, and all your People, have caused us, your most faithful and obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament, with thankfulness to entertaine, and with all earnestnesse of affection and endeavour, to pursue the gracious Proposition and Direction, which, not long since, we have received from your Majesty: And we have thereupon taken into our most serious consideration, the ways and means of securing the safety of your Royal Person, Preserving the Honour and Authority

of your Crowne, Removing all Jealousies betwixt your Majesty and your People, Suppressing the Rebellion in *Ireland*, Preventing the Fears and Dangers in this Kingdome, and the mischievous Designs of those who are Enemies to the Peace of it. And that we may with more Comfort and Security, accomplish our duties herein, we most humbly beseech your Majesty, That you will be pleased forthwith, to put the Tower of *London*, and all other Forts, and the whole *Militia* of the Kingdome, into the hands of such Persons as shall be recommended unto your Majesty by both Houses of Parliament, which they assure themselves will be a hopeful entrance into those Courses, which, (through God's blessing,) shall be effectual for the removing all diffidence and mis-apprehension, betwixt your Majesty and your People, and for Establishing and Enlarging the Honour, Greatnesse, and Power of your Majesty and Royal Posterity, and for the restoring and confirming the Peace and Happinesse of your loyal Subjects, in all your Dominions.

And to this our most necessary Petition, we in all humility expect your Majestie's speedy and gracious Answer, the great Distractions and Distempers of the Kingdome not admitting any delay.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble Petition of the LORDS and COMMONS now assembled in PARLIAMENT.

Sheweth,

THAT whereas your Majestie, by a Message sent to both Houses of Parliament, signified an Apprehension of some Treasonable matter, to have been committed by the Lord *Kymbolton*, Master *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Master *Pym*, Master *Hampden*, and Master *Strode*; and thereby declared your Majestie's intention to proceed against them in an unquestionable way: We the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, did make our humble Petition to your Majesty, to beseech your Majesty to give directions, that your Parliament might be informed, before Tuesday then next ensuing, what prooffe there was against them, that accordingly there might be a Legal and Parliamentary proceeding against them, whereby they might be brought to condigne punishment, if guilty; or discharged from so heavy an Accusation, if innocent: And whereas your Majesty was graciously pleased, in Answer to that Petition, to expresse Your good approbation of the desire of both Houses, for the speedy proceeding against the Persons in that Petition mentioned; yet your Majesty gave no other satisfaction to their desire than this, That Your Majestie held it necessary, lest a new mistake should breed more delays, "that it should be resolved, whether your Majesty were bound, in respect of Priviledges, to proceed against them by impeachment in that Parliament, or to be left at liberty to prefer an Indictment at the Common Law, in the usual way, or to have your choice of either;" and we finding still,

still, that there is no Legal Parliamentary proceeding against them, and that they still lie under the burden of that high Charge, We think it our duty, once again to beseech your Majesty to give directions, that your Parliament may be informed before Friday next, what proof there is against them, that accordingly they may be called to a Legal Trial, it being the undoubted Right, and Priviledge of Parliament, that no Member of Parliament can be proceeded against, without the consent of Parliament: And this we most humbly conceive ourselves obliged to ask, it being no less agreeable with justice, to have the innocency of Parties unjustly charged, manifested, then to bring the Nocent to their just punishment.

*His MAJESTIE'S Answer to two Petitions of the LORDS and COMMONS,
delivered 2d February, 1641.*

HIS Majesty, having well considered of the two several Petitions, presented unto him on Wednesday, the second of this moneth, from both Houses of Parliament, and being desirous to expresse how willing He is to apply a remedy, not only to your Dangers, but even to your Doubts and Fears; He, therefore, to that Petition, which concerns the Forts and Militia of this Kingdom, returns this Answer; That, when he shall know the extent of Power which is intended to be established in those persons, whom you desire to be the Commanders of the Militia, in the several Counties; And likewise to what time it shall be limited, that no power shall be executed by His Majestie alone, without the advice of Parliament;

Then He will declare, That (for the securing you from all Dangers, or Jealousies of any,) His Majesty will be content to put in all the places, both of Forts, and Militia, in the several counties, such persons as both the Houses of Parliament shall either approve, or recommend unto Him, so that you declare before unto His Majesty, the names of the persons whom you approve, or recommend: unless such persons shall be named, against whom he shall have just, and unquestionable exceptions.

To the other Petition, concerning the members of either House, His Majesty returns this Answer, That as He once conceived, that He had ground enough to accuse them, so now His Majesty finds as good cause, wholly to desert any prosecution of them.

The King gives up his intention, of prosecuting the accused members of Parliament, for High Treason.

And, for a further testimony of His Majestie's real Intention towards all His loving Subjects, (some of whom, happily, may be involved in some unknowing and unwilling Errors,) For the better composing, and settling of all Feares and Jealousies, of what kind soever, His Majesty is ready

to grant as free and general a Pardon, for the full contentment of all His loving Subjects, as shall, by the approbation of both Houses of Parliament, be thought convenient for that purpose.

His MAJESTIE'S Consent, for the Princesse MARIE'S going to HOLLAND, and Her MAJESTY to accompany Her thither.

HIS Majesty, being very much pressed by the States Ambassadour, to send the Princesse His Daughter, immediately into *Holland*: And, being likewise earnestly desired by His Royal Consort the Queen, to give her Majesty leave to accompany Her Daughter thither; Hath thought fit to consent to both desires, and to make this his Majestie's Consent, and her Majestie's Resolution, knowne to His Parliament.

Her MAJESTIE'S Answer, to a Message of both HOUSES.

THE Queen, having received a Message from both Houses of Parliament, by the Earle of *Newport*, and the Lord *Seymour*, intimating unto her, that she had been told that the House of Commons had an intention to accuse Her of high Treason, and that Articles to that purpose had been shewed unto her, Returns this Answer.

That there was a general report, of an Accusation, intended against her, but she never saw any Articles in writing, and having no certain Author, either for the one, or for the other, she gave little credit thereunto, and much lesse now, being assured from the House of Commons, that never any such thing came into their thoughts.

Nor will she believe they would lay an Aspersion upon her, who hath ever been very unapt so farre to misconstrue the Actions of any one person, and much more the proceedings of Parliament, and shall, at all times, wish a happy understanding between the King and his people.

His MAJESTIE'S Message, sent to the House of COMMONS, concerning LICENCES, granted by His MAJESTY, to several persons, to passe into IRELAND, February 7, 1641-42.

HIS Majesty, taking notice of a Speech, pretending in the Title, to have been delivered by Master *Pym*, in a Conference: and Printed by Order of the House of Commons, in which it is affirmed, That, since the stop upon the Ports, against all Irish Papists, by both Houses, many of the chief Commanders, now in the head of the Rebels, have been suffered to passe by his Majestie's immediate Warrant;
And

And, being very certain of having used extreme Caution in the granting of Passports into *Ireland*; So that, He conceives, either this Paper, not to have been so delivered and Printed as it pretends, or this House to have received some misinformation :

His Majesty would be resolved, whether this Speech were so delivered, and Printed; and, if it were, would have this House to review, upon what Informations that particular was grounded; that either that may be found, upon re-examination, to have been false, and both this House, and His Majesty, injured by it; Or that His Majesty may know, by what means, and by whose fault, His Authority hath been so highly abused as to be made to conduce to the assistance of that Rebellion, which He so much detests and abhors, and that He may see Himself fully vindicated from all reflections of the least suspicion of that kind.

The Answer of the House of Commons.

YOUR Majestie's most loyal and faithful Subjects, the Commons, now assembled in Parliament, have taken into their serious consideration the Message received from Your Majesty, the 7th of this instant, *February*, and do acknowledge, that the Speech therein mentioned to be delivered by M. *Pym*, in a Conference, was printed by their Order, and that what was therein delivered, was agreeable to the sense of the House. And touching that passage, wherein it is affirmed, that, since the stop upon the Ports, against all Irish Papists, by both Houses, many of the chief Commanders, now in the head of the Rebels, have been suffered to passe by your Majestie's immediate Warrants, they present your Majesty with this, their humble Answer.

That they have received divers advertisements, concerning the several persons, (Irish papists and others,) which have obtained your Majestie's immediate Warrants, for their passing into *Ireland*, since the Order of Restraint, of both Houses, some of which, (as they have been informed,) since their coming into *Ireland*, have joined with the Rebels, and been Commanders amongst them, and some others have been stayed, and are yet in safe custody; particularly the Lord *Delvin*, and four other persons in his company, whereof one is thought to be a Priest, one Colonel *Butler*, brother to the Lord *Minyart*, now in Rebellion, and Sir *George Hamilton*, all which are papists; And one other (as is reported) being son of the Lord *Netersfield*, whose father, and brother, are both in Rebellion: the particular names of others, we have not yet received, but doubt not, but upon examination, they may be discovered.

And your Majestie's most faithful Subjects, are very sorry, that the Extream Caution which your Majesty hath used, hath been so ill seconded with the diligence and faithfulness of your Ministers, and that your Royal Authority should be so highly abused; Although, (as it was exprest in that Speech by Master *Pym*,) we believe it was by the procurement of some evil Instruments, too neer your
 Royal

Royal person, without your Majestie's knowledge, and intention. And we beseech your Majesty, to take such course, that not only your Honour may be vindicated for the time past, but your Kingdome may be secured from the like mischief for the time to come.

Read, and, by vote upon the Question, assented-unto, Feb. 10, 1641-2.

His MAJESTIE'S Reply to the House of COMMONS Answer.

Concerning LICENCES, granted by the KING, to several persons, to go into IRELAND.

AS his Majesty hath expressed a great desire, to give his House of Commons all possible satisfaction to all their just Requests, and a readiness to rectifie, or retract, any thing done by himself, which might seem to trench upon their Privileges, by any mistake of his; So he doubts not, they will be ready, upon all occasions, to manifest an equal tenderness and regard of his Majestie's Honour and Reputation, with his good Subjects; and therefore his Majesty expects, they should review his Message, of the seventh of this moneth, concerning a passage, in Master *Pym's* Speech, and their Answer sent to his Majesty, by some of their Members, on the tenth of the same; with which his Majesty can by no means rest satisfied.

His Majestie's Exception to that Message was, that it was affirmed in that Speech, That, since the stop upon the Ports against all Irish Papists, by both Houses, many of the chiefe Commanders, now in the head of the Rebels, have been suffered to pass by his Majestie's immediate Warrant.

To this, the Answer is :

THAT the Speech, mentioned in that Message, to be delivered by M. *Pym*, was Printed by their Order, and that what was therein delivered was agreeable to the sense of the House: that they have received divers Advertisements, concerning several persons, Irish Papists, and others, who have obtained his Majestie's immediate Warrant, for their passing into *Ireland*, since the Order of Restraint, of both Houses; some of which, they have been informed, since their coming into *Ireland*, have joined with the Rebels, and been Commanders amongst them.

His Majesty is most assured, no such person hath passed by his Warrant, or Privity: and then he desires his House of Commons, to consider, whether such a general Information and Advertisement, (in which there is not so much as the name of any particular person mentioned,) be ground enough for such a direct and positive Affirmation as is made in that Speech, which, in respect of the place and Person, and, being now acknowledged to be agreeable to the sense of the House, is of that authority, that his Majesty may suffer in the Affections of many of his good Subjects, and fall under a possible construction, (considering many
scandalous

scandalous Pamphlets to such a purpose,) of not being sensible enough of that Rebellion, so horrid and odious to all Christians, by which, in this distraction, such a danger might possibly ensue to his Majestie's Person and Estate, as he is well assured, his House of Commons, will use their utmost endeavours to prevent. And therefore his Majesty, thinks it very necessary, and expects, that they name those persons, who, by his Majestie's Licence, have passed into *Ireland*, and are now there in the head of the Rebels; Or that, if, upon their re-examination, they do not find particular Evidence to prove that Assertion, (as his Majesty is confident they never can;) then, as this Affirmation, (which may reflect upon his Majesty,) is very publike, so they will publish such a Declaration, whereby that mistake may be discovered; his Majesty being the more tender in that particular, which hath Reference to *Ireland*, as being most assured, that He hath been, and is, from his Soul, resolved to discharge his Duty, (which God will require at his hands,) for the relief of his poor Protestant Subjects there, and the utter rooting-out that Rebellion; So that Service hath not suffered any but necessary delays, by any act of his Majestie's, or for the want of any thing proposed to his Majesty, within his Majestie's power to do.

For the persons named in the Answer, his Majesty saith, that Colonel *Butler*, and the son of the Lord *Nettersfield*, obtained his Warrants for their passage into *Ireland*, during the time of his Majestie's being in *Scotland*, which was long (as his Majesty thinks,) before the Order of both Houses: His Majesty, knowing the former of them to be one who hath always made Professions to his Service, and to be Uncle to the Earle of *Ormond*, of whose affection to the Protestant Religion and his Majestie's Service His Majesty hath great cause to be assured; And, the latter being a person of whom, at that time, there was no suspicion to his Majestie's knowledge. For the others, it may be, they have obtained Warrants from his Majesty since the said Order; but his Majesty assures the Parliament, that he had no intimation of such an Order, till after stay made of Sir *George Hamilton*, who was the last that had any Licence from his Majesty to pass for *Ireland*.

And his Majesty, having, since this Answer from the House of Commons, used all possible means, by the examining his own memory and the Notes of his Secretaries, to find what Warrants have been granted by him, and to what persons, doth not find, That he hath granted any to any Irish but those who are named by the House of Commons, and, in *December* last, to the Earl of Saint *Albans*, and to two of his servants, and to one *Walter Terrel*, a poor man; they being such as, his Majesty is assured, are not with the Rebels, and, much less, chief Commanders over them. And, though it may be, the Persons named by the House of Commons are Papists, yet his Majesty, at that time, thought it not fit, (in respect of their Alliance in that Kingdom to such Persons of great power, of whom his Majesty hoped well,) to discover any suspicion of them; the Lords-Justices having declared by their Letters, (which Letters were not disapproved of by the Parliament here,) that they were so far from owning a publike jealousy of all Papists there, that they had thought fit to put Arms into the hands of divers

Noblemen of the Pale [that were] of that Religion, who made Professions to His Majestie's Service, and desired the same. And, since so great a trust reposed in some of the Lords of that Religion, was not disapproved by the Parliament here, His Majesty could not imagine it unsafe, or unfit, for him to give Licences to some few to passe into that Kingdom, who, though Papists, professed due Allegiance and Loyalty to His Majesty.

And therefore, unlesse the first Affirmation of the House of Commons can be made good by some particulars, His Majesty doth not know that his Ministers have failed in their diligence and faithfulness to His Majesty in this point, or that his Honour hath suffered so much by any Act of his own, as that it needs be vindicated for the time past by any other way than such a Declaration which he expects from this house, as in Duty and Justice due to His Majesty.

A Message from HIS MAJESTY to the HOUSE of PEERS, on Friday the 11th of February, 1641, concerning his acceptance of Sir JOHN CONIERS, in the place of Sir JOHN BYRON, to be Lieutenant of the Tower.

ALTHOUGH His Majesty conceives that he is not obliged to give an Answer in any particular concerning the Forts and *Militia* of the Kingdom, until he shall know and consent to the Power and the time, how and to whom, the Forts and *Militia* shall be disposed; Yet to shew his real intention to satisfie the feares of his People, He is content to accept of Sir *John Coniers*, in the place of Sir *John Byron*, for to be Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, having already, at his earnest desire, received the surrender of the said Place from him.

A true and exact List of those Persons, nominated and recommended by the HOUSE of COMMONS, to HIS MAJESTY, As persons fit to be entrusted with the MILITIA of the KINGDOM: wherein they desire the concurrence of the HOUSE of PEERS, Feb. 12, 1641.

BERKSHIRE, Earl of Holland. Bedfordshire, Earl of Bullingbroke. Buckinghamshire, Lord Paget. Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, Lord North. Cheshire, and the County and City of Chester, Lord Strange. Cornwall, Lord Robarts. Cumberland, Lord Gray of Wark. Derby, Earl of Rutland. Devonshire, and of the County and City of Exon, Earl of Bedford. Dorsetshire, and the County of the Town of Poole, Earl of Salisbury. For the Isle of Purbeck Com. Dorset, Sir John Banks, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Constable of Corffe Castle. Durham, Sir Henry Vane, the Elder. Essex, Earl of Warwick. Gloucestershire, and of the County and City of Gloucester, Lord Chandois.

Chandois. Hampshire, and of the Town and County of Southampton, and of the Isle of Wight, Earl of Pembroke. *Hartfordshire*, Earl of Salisbury. *Herefordshire*, Lord Dacres. *Huntingdonshire*, Lord Mandevile. *Kent*, and the City and County of Canterbury, Earl of Leicester. *Com. Lancaster*, Lord Wharton. *Leicester*, Earl of Stamford. *Middlesex*, Earl of Holland. *Com. Northampton*, Lord Spencer. *Nottingham*, and of the Town and County of Nottingham, Earl of Clare. *Northumberland*, and of the Town and County of Newcastle, and of the Town of Barwick, Earl of Northumberland. *Norfolk*, and of the County and City of Norwich, Earl of Warwick. *Oxfordshire*, Lord Viscount Say and Seale. *Rutland*, Earl of Exon. *Salop*, Lord Littleton, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of England. *Somerset*, Marquis Hertford.

That the Lieutenant of the County of *Worcester* shall be nominated before Somerset.

Staffordshire, and of the County of the City of Lichfield, Earl of Essex. *Suffolk*, Earl of Suffolk. *Surrey*, Earl of Nottingham. *Sussex*, Earl of Northumberland. *Warwick*, and of the County of the City of Coventry, Lord Brooke. *Westmerland*, Earl of Cumberland. *Wilts*, Earl of Pembroke. *Wigorn*, and of the County of the City of Worcester, Lord Edward Howard of Eserig. For the County and City of Bristol, Master Denzil Hollis. *Yorkshire*, and of the County of the City of York, and of the County of the Town of Kingston on Hull, Earl of Essex. Of the parts of Kestaven and Holland, and the County of the City of Lincolne, Earl of Lincolne. For the parts of Lindsay, in the County of Holland, Lord Willoughby of Parham. *Monmouth*, Lord Philip Herbert. *Isle of Anglesey*, Earl of Northumberland. *Brecknock*, Lord Philip Herbert. *Cardigan*, Earl of Carbery. *Carmarthen*, and *Carmarthen-Town*, Earl of Carbery. *Carnarvon*, Earl of Pembroke. *Denbigh*, Lord Fielding. *Flintshire*, Lord Fielding. *Glamorgan*, Lord Philip Herbert. *Montgomery*, Earl of Essex. *Merioneth*, Earl of Pembroke. *Pembroke*, and the Towne of Haverford West, Earl of Northumberland. *Radnor*, Lord Littleton, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of England.

That for the levying, ordering, and exercising the Militia of the City of London, power is given unto Sir John Gaire, Sir Jacob Garret, Knights and Aldermen, Thomas Atkins, Alderman, Sir John Wollastone, Knight and Alderman, John Warner, Alderman, and John Towse, Alderman, Serjeant-Major General Skippon, or any three, or more, of them, Randolph Manwaring, William Gibbs, John Fowke, James Bunce, Francis Peck, Samuel Warner, James Russell, Nathaniel Wright, William Barkley, Alexander Normington, Stephen Estweeke, Owen Rowe, Citizens of London, or any six, or more, of them.

HIS MAJESTIE'S MESSAGE to both Houses of PARLIAMENT: *February*
14, 1641.

THOUGH His Majesty is assured, that His having so suddenly passed these two Bills, being of so great importance, and so earnestly desired by both Houses, will serve to assure His Parliament, That He desires nothing more than the satisfaction of His Kingdom; yet, that He may further manifest to both Houses how impatient He is, till he find-out a full remedie to compose the present Distempers, He is pleased to signifie:

That His Majesty will, by Proclamation, require, that all Statutes made concerning Recusants be, with all Care, Diligence, and Severity, put in execution.

That His Majesty is resolved, That the seven Condemned Priests shall be immediately Banished, if His Parliament shall consent thereunto: And His Majesty will give present Order (if it shall be held fit by both Houses) that a Proclamation issue, to require all Romish Priests within twenty days to depart the Kingdom; and, if any shall be Apprehended after that time, His Majesty assures both Houses, in the Word of a King, That He will grant no pardon to any such without consent of His Parliament.

And, because His Majesty observes great and different Troubles to arise in the hearts of His People concerning the Government and Liturgie of the Church, His Majesty is willing to declare, That He will referre that whole Consideration to the Wisdom of His Parliament, which He desires them to enter-into speedily, that the present Distractions about the same may be composed. But he desires not to be pressed to any single Act on His Part, till the whole be so digested and settled by both Houses, that His Majesty may cleerly see what is fit to be left, as well as what is fit to be taken-away.

For *Ireland* (in behalf of which His Majestie's heart bleeds) as His Majesty hath concurred with all Propositions made for that Service by His Parliament, so He is resolved to leave nothing undone for their Relief, which shall fall within His possible Power, nor will refuse to venture His owne Person in that Warre, if His Parliament shall thinke it convenient for the reduction of that miserable Kingdome.

And, lastly, His Majesty, taking notice, by several Petitions, of the great and general decay of Trade in this Kingdome, and more particularly of that of Clothing, and new Draperies (concerning which He received lately at *Greenwich* a modest, but earnest, Petition from the Clothiers of *Suffolke*) of which decay of Trade, His Majesty hath a very deep sense, both in respect of the extreme want and poverty it hath brought, and must bring, upon many thousands of His loving Subjects, and of the influence it must have in a very short time upon the very subsistence of this Nation: Doth earnestly recommend the consideration of that great and weighty Businesse to both Houses; Promising them, that He will most readily concurre in

in any Resolution their Wisdomes shall find-out, which may conduce to so necessary a Work.

THE Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, do, with much Joy, receive and with Thankfulness acknowledge, Your Majestie's Grace and Favour, in giving your Royal Assent to a Bill, intituled, *An Act for disabling all Persons in Holy Orders, to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority*: And also Your Majestie's Care for *Ireland*, expressed in the dispatch of the Bill of Pressing, so much importing the safety of that, and this, Kingdom.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble PETITION of the LORDS and COMMONS now Assembled in PARLIAMENT.

Sheweth,

THAT Your Majesty, in answer to their late Petition touching the proceedings against the Lord Kimbolton, Master Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Master Pym, Master Hamden, and Master Strode, Members of the Parliament, was pleased to signifie, That, as Your Majesty once conceived that you had ground enough to accuse them, So now Your Majesty findes as good cause wholly to desert any further prosecution of them. Notwithstanding which, they remaine still under that heavy charge so imputed unto them, to the exceeding prejudice not only of themselves, but also of the whole Parliament. And, whereas, by the express Laws and Statutes of this Your Realm, that is to say, by two Acts of Parliament, the one made in the 37th, and the other in the 38th, year of the Reign of your most Noble Progenitor, King Edward the Third: "If any person whatsoever make suggestion to the King himself, of any Crime committed by another, the same person ought to be sent with the suggestion, before the Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal, Treasurer, and the Great Council, there to find surety to pursue his suggestion; which if he cannot prove, he is to be imprisoned till he hath satisfied the Party accused of his damages and slander, and made fine and ransom to the King:" The said Lords and Commons humbly beseech Your Majesty, That, not only in point of Justice to the said Members in their particulars, but for the Vindication of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, Your Majesty will be pleased to send the Person or Persons, that in this case made the suggestions, or informations, to Your Majesty, against the said Members of Parliament, Together with the said suggestions or informations, to Your Parliament, That so such fruits of the said good Laws may be had as were intended by them, and the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament may be Vindicated: which of right and justice ought not to be denied.

An

An ORDINANCE of both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, for the safe-guard of the PARLIAMENT, TOWER, and City of LONDON, under the Command of Serjeant-Major General SKIPPON.

WHEREAS upon the 12th of *January* last past, (amongst other things in that Order;) It is ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, in these words: "And for the better safeguard of the Tower, It is further Ordered by both Houses of Parliament, That the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex* shall appoint and place a sufficient Guard about the Tower, both by Land and Water, under the Command of Serjeant-Major General *Skippon*, Commander of the Guards of the Parliament, And that those Guards be careful to see the former Order observed." Now, whereas the said Serjeant-Major having (in his great care and faithfulness) given his advice to the said Sheriffs, concerning what Guards he conceived to be fitting, and how the same Guards ought to have been Ordered by Water and Land, as he thought most advantageous for the said service.—Whereas also the said Serjeant-Major hath given his further advice and Order, to divers other persons, concerning the timely discovery and preventing of any thing that might have been attempted, or done, contrary to the intent of the said Order of both Houses of Parliament.

And whereas the said Serjeant-Major *Skippon* hath, according to the trust reposed in him by the City of *London*, placed the Trained-Bands of the said City, at the further end of Tower-Street, and in such other places within and about the City, as he conceived to be most for the safety of the City: All and every particular of the which premisses, and whatsoever else in the same kind, and to the same ends, that he the said Serjeant-Major hath advised, or done, or shall advise or do, according to the Order aforesaid, is hereby well-approved-of and fully warranted by both Houses of Parliament, as being for the real good service of His Majesty, and the Common-wealth; as also for the safety of the Parliament and City. And is in all and every part thereof, according to his Duty, the last Protestation, and the Laws of this Kingdom. And, if any person shall arrest, or any other way trouble, him for so doing, he doth break the Priviledge of Parliament, Violate the Liberty of the Subject, and is hereby declared an Enemy to the Common-wealth.

A Message from a Committee of both Houses of PARLIAMENT, to the SPANISH AMBASSADOR, to make stay of Ships at DUNKIRK, intended for the supply of the Rebels in IRELAND.

THE Lords and Commons have commanded us to intimate to the Spanish Ambassadour the advertisement, that they have received, of certaine Ships lying in *Dunkerke*, laden with Ammunition, ready to take sail, intended for the relief of the Rebels of *Ireland*. This they hold contrary to the Articles agreed-upon, in the

the Treaties of Peace between the two Crowns; And therefore the Ambassadour is to be moved from both Houses, to send speedily to *Dunherke*, and to all other His [Spanish, or Catholick] Majestie's Dominions, and unto the King his Master, to make stay of those, and all such Ships as may carry any supply of Men, Victuals, Money, or any other aid, to His Majestie's Subjects, that at this present are in Rebellion in *Ireland*; Which otherwise will be understood to be a Breach of the Treaties between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, and so resented by the Parliament.

The SPANISH AMBASSADOUR'S ANSWER to the MESSAGE from a
COMMITTEE of both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT.

THE Lord Ambassadour of *Spain*, *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, having understood what the Lord *Fielding*, of the Lords House, and Sir *Thomas Barrington*, Baronet, and Sir *John Holland*, Baronet, of the House of Commons, All three Commissaries from the Parliament, have said in behalf of both Houses, concerning the advertisement given them, that in the Haven of *Dunherke*, there were certain Ships laden with Ammunition, ready to take sail, intended for the relief of the Rebels of *Ireland*, which they hold contrary to the Articles of Peace between the two Crowns; And that they required he should send to *Dunherke*, and all other His Majestie's Dominions, and that he should write unto the King His Master, to make stay of those and all such Ships as may carry supply of Powder, Victuals, Money, or any other aid, to His Majestie's Subjects, that at this present are in Rebellion in *Ireland*; because, otherwise, it would be understood to be a Breach of the Treaties between the two Crowns, and so resented by the Parliament:—The said Ambassadour of *Spain* answered, That, besides the understanding which he hath of the King his Master's mind and intention to conserve the friendship which he professeth with His Majesty of *Great-Britain*, he hath express and most particular notice, that the Ships which are now in *Dunherke*-Haven, laden with Souldiers and Ammunition and ready to sail, neither are for *Ireland*, nor were they provided for any such purpose; And that this notice was given him by *Don Francisco de Mello*, Earl of *Assumar*, Governour and Captain-General of the States of *Flanders*, whom the Resident of His Majesty of *Great Britain*, that assists in *Brussels*, assured that he is fully satisfied of their not going for *Ireland*, as is also his King, who signified so much unto him in a letter, in which he likewise commanded him to thank the said *Don Francisco de Mello*, for denying leave, which certain Irish, serving in those States, had asked to return to their Country, which he denied, to avoid all suspicion; Notwithstanding their end for asking it was unknown. The same assurance did the same Ambassadour give unto the Commissaries aforesaid of the Parliament, concerning the mentioned Ships in *Dunherke*, laden with Ammunition and Souldiers, "that they are not for *Ireland*;" And he proffered to write to *Dunkirk*, and all other Parts of *Flanders*, and Dominions of the King his Master; and particularly to His Catholick Majesty,

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to the end, That the observance of the Articles of Peace, (which hitherto have been so religiously observed of the King his Master's part, and his Subjects,) may be continued; and that new and strait Orders be given, That no Subject of His Catholick Majesty shall dare to violate them, by sending any kind of aids to foster the Insurrection in *Ireland*, under pain of the punishment imposed upon the transgressors. And the said Ambassadour, to manifest the sincerity of his heart, professed to sollicite it with the readiest and most forcible means that lay in his power, hoping (as in reason he should,) that His Majesty of *Great-Britain*, and the Parliament, will, for their part, punctually observe the same in the aforesaid conformity towards the Rebels of the King his Master, not permitting any kinds of succour or assistance, in whatsoever quality, to be afforded them, from these Kingdoms. Renewing for this effect, all requisite Orders unto the Officers and Ports of the said Kingdoms, chastising the transgressors of what is settled in the Peace, with the punishments contained in the Articles of it; that so, by reciprocal observance, the good correspondency, which is at this present between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *England*, may be assuredly maintained.

HIS MAJESTIE'S MESSAGE to both HOUSES, concerning the MILITIA.

HIS Majesty, having received an humble Petition of the Lords and Commons, by the hands of the Earls of *Carlisle* and *Monmouth*, returns this Answer; That his dearest Consort the Queen, and his dear Daughter the Princess *Mary*, being now upon their departure for *Holland*, He cannot have so good time to consider of a particular Answer, for a matter of so great weight as this is: therefore he must respite the same until his return.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble PETITION of the LORDS and COMMONS, concerning this MESSAGE.

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

YOUR humble and loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons, have, with a great deal of grief, received Your Majestie's Answer, to their just and necessary Petition, concerning the Militia of the Kingdom; which, Your Majesty, by a gracious Message formerly sent unto them, was pleased to promise, should be put into such hands as your Parliament should approve-of, or recommend unto you; the extent of their power, and the time of their continuance, being likewise declared. That being done, and the persons by both Houses nominated, Your Majesty, nevertheless, refers Your resolution herein, to a longer, and a very uncertain, time, which (the present dangers and distractions being so great and pressing) is

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as unsatisfactory and destructive, as an absolute denial. Therefore we once again beseech Your Majesty, to take our desire into Your Royal thoughts, and to give us such an answer as may raise in us a confidence, that we shall not be exposed to the practices of those who thirst after the ruin of this Kingdom, and the kindling of that combustion in *England*, which they have, in so great a measure, effected in *Ireland*; from whence (as we are daily informed) they intend and endeavour to invade us, with the assistance of the Papists here amongst us.

Nothing can prevent these evils, nor enable us to suppress the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and secure ourselves, but the instant granting of that our humble Petition; which we hope Your Majesty will not deny to those who must, in the discharge of their duties both to your Majesty and the Common-wealth, represent unto your Majesty, what they find so absolutely necessary, for the preservation of both; which the Laws, both of God and man, enjoin them to see put in execution, as several Counties, by their daily Petitions, have desired of us, and in some places, have begun already to do it of themselves, Feb. 22, 1641.

Resolved, upon the question, and assented-unto, and ordered, That Master Hollis carry it up to the Lords, to desire their concurrence herein.

A MESSAGE from both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, sent to the KING and QUEEN'S MAJESTIES, Touching certain LETTERS, lately intercepted, and, (as it may be conjectured), sent from the Lord DIGBY, to the QUEEN'S MAJESTY.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majestie's most Loyal and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, have received Your Message of the sixteenth of this instant *February*, sent at the instance of the Queen's Majesty; and, upon consideration thereof, to our great joy and content, find therein clear expressions of Grace and Favour, from both Your Majesties; for which we return our most humble thanks: and have herewithall sent the Transcript of that Letter required by Your Majesty, as likewise of two other Letters, directed to Master Secretary *Nicholas*, and Sir *Lewes Dives*, all which were brought to us under one cover, indorsed to Master Secretary, with information, that they were written by the Lord *Digby*; who, being a person who had fled from the Justice of Parliament, and one who had given many evidences of the dis-affection to the public good; we conceived it necessary to open the two former, and finding sundry expressions in them full of Asperity and Malignity to the Parliament, We thought it very probable, That the like may be contained in that to her Majesty, and that it would be dishonourable to her Majesty, and dangerous for the Kingdom, if it should not be opened, wherein we were no whit deceived, as Your Majesty may well perceive by the Contents thereof.

And although we cannot but be very sensible of the great dishonour therein

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done to your Majesties, and the malicious endeavours of fomenting and increasing the Jealousy betwixt Your Majesty and Your people; Yet we are far from reflecting any thing upon the Queen, or expecting any satisfaction from Her Majesty; But impute all to the bold and envenomed spirit of the man. Only we most earnestly beseech your Majesty, to persuade the Queen, that she will not vouchsafe any countenance to, or correspondency with, the Lord *Digby*, or any other of the Fugitives, or Traitors, whose offences now depend under the examination and judgement of Parliament; which we assure ourselves will be very effectual, to further the removal of all Jealousies and Discontents, betwixt Your Majesty and Your People, and the settling the great affairs of Your Majesty, and the Kingdom, in an assured State and condition of Honour, safety, and prosperity.

A MESSAGE from both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT unto HIS MAJESTY,
concerning the PRINCE, His SON.

THE Lords and Commons in Parliament, humbly desire his Majesty, That the Prince may not be removed from *Hampton-Court*; and that for these ensuing Reasons.

1. They conceive his Majesty had resolved, that the Prince should stay at *Hampton-Court*, until his Majestie's Return.
2. That the Lord Marquess *Hertford*, appointed by his Majesty to be Governour of the Prince, and approved-of, and commanded by the Parliament to give his personal attendance on the Prince, is now so indisposed in his health, that he is not able to attend the Prince to any other place.
3. That the Prince's removal at this time from *Hampton-Court* may be a cause to promote Jealousies and fears in the hearts of his Majestie's good Subjects; which, they conceive, it is very necessary to avoid.

Die Jovis, 24 Febr. 1641.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament; that the Lord Howard of Char. shall attend upon the King, and present these Reasons unto his Majesty.

John Brown, Cler. Parliament.

HIS MAJESTIE'S ANSWER to the REASONS He Received by way of
MESSAGE from both HOUSES, concerning the PRINCE, his SON.

THAT his Majesty intended, at his remove from *Hampton-Court*, with his Royal Consort the Queen, towards *Dover*, That the Prince, his Son, should stay at *Hampton-Court*, till his Majesty returned to some of his Houses; and thereupon, as soon as his Majesty resolved upon a certain day to be at *Greenwich*, he commanded

commanded that his Son should attend him there, which was no way contrary to his former intention.

2. That his Majesty was very sorry to hear of the Indisposition of the Marquess *Hertford*, being the Person upon whom he principally relies for the Care of his dearest Son; But, if that indisposition should have lasted, his Majesty could no ways think fit, that his want of health should have hinder'd the Prince from waiting upon his Majesty, according to his command; and therefore would have been much offended, if the Prince had failed of meeting his Majesty, according to his appointment.

3. To the Fears and Jealousies, his Majesty knows not what Answer to give, not being able to imagine from what grounds they proceed. But, if any Information have been given to that purpose, His Majesty much desires that the same may be examined to the bottom; and then he hopes that their Fears and Jealousies will be hereafter continued only with reference to his Majesty's Rights and Honour.

The VOTES of the LORDS, and COMMONS, Upon the Propositions, made by divers worthy and well-affected persons, for the speedy and effectual reducing of the Kingdom of IRELAND.

THE Lords and Commons, taking into their serious considerations, as well the necessity of a speedy reducing of the Rebels of *Ireland* to their due obedience, as also the great sums of money, that the Commons of this Realm have, of late, paid for the publike and necessary Affairs of the Kingdom; whereof, the Lords and Commons are very sensible, and desirous to embrace all good and honourable ways, tending to his Majesty's greatness and profit, the settling of that Realm, and the ease of his Majesty's Subjects of *England*; And whereas, divers worthy and well-affected persons, perceiving that many millions of Acres of the Rebels Lands of that Kingdom, which go under the name of profitable Lands, will be confiscate and to be disposed-of, and that in that case two millions and a halfe of those Acres, to be equally taken out of the four Provinces of that Kingdom, may be allotted for the satisfaction of such persons as shall disburse any sums of money, for the reducing of the Rebels there, which would effectually accomplish the same, have made these Propositions ensuing.

1. That two millions and an half, of those Acres, may be assigned, allotted, and divided amongst them, after this proportion: *viz.*

For each Adventure of	{	200 li. 1000 Acres in <i>Ulster</i> .
		300 li. 1000 Acres in <i>Conaght</i> .
		450 li. 1000 Acres in <i>Munster</i> .
		600 li. 1000 Acres in <i>Leinster</i> .

All according to the English measure, and consisting of Meadow, Arable, and profitable

profitable Pasture; the Bogs, Woods, and barren Mountains, being cast-in, over and above. These two millions and a half of Acres, to be holden, in free and common Soccage, of the King, as of his Castle of *Dublin*.

2. That out of those two millions and an half of Acres, a constant Rent, shall be reserved to the Crown of *England*, after this proportion, *viz.*

Out of each Acre thereof in	{	Ulster	1d—
		Conaght	1d—ob.
		Munster	2d—q;
		Leinster	3d—

Whereby his Majestie's Revenue, out of those Lands, will be much improved, besides the advantages that he will have, by the coming to his hands of all other the Lands of the Rebels, and their personal Estates, without any charge unto his Majesty.

3. That for the erecting of Manors, settling of Waste and Commons, maintaining of Preaching Ministers, creating of Corporations, and regulating of the several Plantations, one or more Commissions be hereafter granted by Authority of Parliament.

4. That monies for this great occasion may be the more speedily advanced, All the Undertakers, in the City of *London*, and within twenty miles distant thereof, shall under-write their several sums, before the twentieth day of *March*, 1641, and all within sixty miles of *London*, before the first day of *April*, 1642. And the rest of the Kingdom, before the first day of *May*, 1642.

5. That the several sums to be under-written, shall be paid-in at four payments, *viz.* one fourth part, within ten days, after such under-writing, and the other three parts, at three moneths, three moneths, and three moneths: all to be paid into the Chamber of *London*.

6. That, for the better securing of the said several sums accordingly, every one that doth so under-write, shall, at the time of his Subscription, pay-down the twentieth part of the total sum that shall be by him then under-written.

And in case that the residue of his first fourth part be not paid-in to such person, or persons, as shall be appointed to receive the same, within the ten days before limited; then such a Party shall not only forfeit the twentieth part of the Sum total, formerly deposited, but so much more of his first fourth payment, to be added thereunto, as shall make-up the one moiety of the said first payment. And, if the same person shall fail in any other of the three payments, he shall then forfeit his entire first fourth part, and all the benefit of his Subscription; which forfeiture shall accrue to the common benefit of the rest of the Undertakers.

The Lords and Commons, upon due and mature deliberation of these Propositions, have approved of them, and given their consent unto the same, and will become humble Petitioners to his Majesty for his Royal approbation thereof; and that hereafter he will be pleased, upon the humble suit of both Houses of Parliament,

ment, to give his Royal Assent to such Bills as they shall tender unto Him, for the settling of those Propositions and all other things necessarily conducing thereunto.

By vertue of an Order of the Honourable House of Commons, made on Monday, the seventh of this present Moneth of *February*, 1641; We (the Committee appointed to receive the moneys given by the Members of the House of Commons, for the Relief of the poor, distressed, people that are come out of *Ireland*;) are to require you to send unto us, or any one of us, a Certificate, what sums of money are collected within your Parish, for the relief of the poor, distressed, people of *Ireland*, and to require you to bring-in such sums of money as you have received, to that Committee; who are authorized by the House to receive the same.

Dated at Westminster, the fifteenth day of February, 1641.

The Committee appointed by the House for the said Collection, are,
Sir *Edward Aiscough*, Knight, *Francis Rowse*, *Henry Martin*, and *William Wheeler*, Esquires.

To the Minister, and Churchwardens, of the Parish of—.

His MAJESTIE'S gracious Answer and Assent, Declared unto both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, February 24, 1641, was as followeth.

HIS Majesty, being very glad to receive any Proposition that may repair the calamity of his distressed Kingdom of *Ireland*, especially when it may be without burthen, or imposition, and for the ease of his good Subjects, of this Kingdom, hath graciously considered the Overture, made by both Houses of Parliament, to that purpose, and returns this Answer:

THAT, as he hath offered, and is still ready, to venture his own Royal Person, for the Recovery of that Kingdom, if his Parliament shall advise him thereunto, so he will not deny to contribute any other assistance he can, to that Service, by parting with any profit, or advantage, of his own there: And therefore, (relying upon the wisdom of his Parliament,) doth consent to every Proposition now made to him, without taking time to examine, whether this course may not retard the reducing of that Kingdom, by exasperating the Rebels, and rendering them desperate of being received into Grace, if they shall return to their Obedience.

And his Majesty will be ready to give his Royal assent to all such Bills as shall be tendered unto him by his Parliament, for the confirmation of every particular of this Proposition.

Die Veneris, 25th Feb. 1641.

Ordered, by the Lords in Parliament, That the Propositions concerning Ireland,
and

and his Majestie's gracious Answer thereunto, together with the Directions, shall be forthwith Printed and published.

And for the better effecting of this WORK, the LORDS and COMMONS have thought fit to Publish these ensuing Directions.

1. WHEREAS; according to the proportion of Lands in the Propositions mentioned, (being two millions and a half of Acres,) the Sums to be under-written, will not exceed one million of money. It will be requisite that, together with the Sums under-written, the day and time of each Subscription be likewise set-down; to the intent, that those who do under-write before the million of money shall be made-up, may not be excluded from the benefit of their respective Subscriptions, in case they make payment of the respective Sums according to the Propositions.

Nevertheless, if any shall under-write after the million of money shall be made-up, they shall be admitted to the shares of such as (having under-written to the million,) shall fail of payment according to the Propositions, or else (at their election,) shall be forthwith repayed, all such Sums as they shall have paid-in, upon hope of taking benefit of the Propositions,

2. The places to be appointed for the several under-writings, to be, For the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and the Counties of *Surry*, and *Middlesex*, the Chamber of *London*: for all other Counties in *England* and *Wales*, the Towns where the last Assises were kept: But any of those Counties that shall desire to under-write in *London*, may be at liberty to do it there.

3. The persons to be employed in taking the under-writings, and receiving the monies, for *London* and *Westminster*, *Middlesex* and *Surry*, are to be such, as upon further consultation with the Citizens of *London*, shall be appointed.

And in all other Counties, the Sheriffs of the several Counties respectively: who are to give Acquittances for such Sums as they shall receive.

4. That printed Books of the Propositions, and his Majestie's Answer there-unto, and of the Instructions, shall be sent, and Letters written from the Speaker, to the several Sheriffs of the said Counties, who shall publish the Books, and Letters at the next Assises, and shall then likewise give publike notice of the times and places by them to be appointed, as well for the several under-writings, as for the payment of the Sums that shall be under-written: And for the better publishing of those Books, the several Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons, shall forthwith send-down several Books and Letters to the head-Officers of their Cities and Boroughs, respectively.

5. That the several Sheriffs shall, from week to week, send-up to the Chamber of *London*, a true List of the names and Sums subscribed, and of the time of the Subscription.

6. For the better encouragement of such persons as shall be employed for the City

City of *London* and the parts adjoining, as likewise of the said Sheriffs, and such other persons, as shall be by them employed herein, it shall and may be lawful, for the said Sheriffs, and for the said persons, appointed for the City of *London*, respectively, to deduct, and retain to his or their use, after the rate of one penny in the pound, for their pains and charges, in receiving the said Sums, and in returning the same.

7. That, together with the Printed Propositions and Letters from the Speaker, Paper-Books, with Titles prefixed, shall be sent-down to the Sheriffs of each County, in the beginning of which Books, next under the Titles, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses respectively, that serve for the same, and who shall underwrite any Sum, according to the said Propositions, shall subscribe their names and Sums in the first place.

An Ordinance of both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, for the ordering of the MILITIA, of the Kingdom of ENGLAND, and Dominion of WALES.

WHEREAS there hath been of late, a most dangerous and desperate Design upon the House of Commons, which we have just cause to believe to be an effect of the bloody Counsels of Papists, and other ill-affected persons, who have already raised a Rebellion in the Kingdom of *Ireland*: And, by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to stir-up the like Rebellion and Insurrections in this Kingdom of *England*, but also to back them with Forces from abroad:

For the safety, therefore, of His Majestie's Person, the Parliament, and Kingdom, in this time of imminent danger;

It is ordained by the King, the Lords and Commons, now in Parliament assembled, that shall have power to assemble and call-together all and singular his Majestie's Subjects, within the County of as well within Liberties as without, that are meet and fit for the Wars, and them to traine, exercise, and put in readiness, and them after their abilities, and faculties, well and sufficiently, from time to time, to cause to be Arrayed, and Weaponed, and to take the muster of them in places most fit for that purpose.

And shall have power, within the said County, to nominate, and appoint such persons of quality, as to him shall seem meet, to be his Deputy-Lieutenants, to be approved-of by both Houses of Parliament. And that any one, or more, of the said Deputies, so assigned and approved-of, shall, in the absence, or by the command, of the said have power and authority to do and execute, within the County all such powers and authorities, before in this present Ordinance contained: And shall have power to make Colonels and Captains, and other Officers, and to remove them out of their places, and to make others, from time to time, as he shall think fit for that purpose. And

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his Deputies, Colonels, and Captains, and other officers, shall have further power and authority, to lead, conduct, and employ the persons aforesaid, Arrayed, and Weaponed, as well within the County of as within any other part of this Realm, of *England*, or Dominion of *Wales*, for the suppression of all Rebellions, Insurrections, and invasions that may happen, according as they, from time to time, shall receive Directions, by his Majestie's Authority, signified unto them by the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament.

And it is further ordained, that such persons, as shall not obey in any of the premisses, shall answer their neglect and contempt, to the Lords and Commons, in a Parliamentary way, and not otherwise, nor elsewhere; and that every the powers granted, as aforesaid, shall continue, until it shall be otherwise ordered, or declared by both Houses of Parliament, and no longer.

This to go also to the Dominion of Wales.

John Brown, Cler. Parliament.

CHARLES REX.

*To Our Trusty, and Right well-beloved COUNSELLOUR, EDWARD,
Lord LITTLETON, KEEPER of the GREAT SEALE.*

Right

TRUSTY, and Right well-beloved Counsellour, We greet you well. Our will and pleasure is, that you deliver, to be read in the House of Peers, this, Our answer to the desire from both Houses concerning the Militia; and, for so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at Our House at *Greenwich*, the 28th of *February*, 1641.

HIS MAJESTIE'S ANSWER to both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, concerning the MILITIA, *February 28, 1641.*

HIS Majesty having, with his best care and understanding, perused and considered, that which was sent him from both Houses, for the ordering of the Militia, (presented unto him, to be made an Ordinance of Parliament, by the giving of his Royal Assent,) as he can by no means do it for the reasons hereafter mentioned, so he doth not conceive himself obliged, by any promise made in his Answer of the second of this month to the Petition of both Houses, to yield the same.

His Majesty finds great cause to except against the Preface, or Introduction, to that Order, which confesseth a most dangerous and desperate design upon the House of Commons of late, supposed to be an effect of the bloody counsels of Papists and other ill-affected persons; by which many may understand (looking upon other Printed Papers to that purpose) his coming, in Person, to the House of Commons on the fourth of January, which begot so unhappy a misunderstanding

ing between him and his People: and, as to that, (though he now believes it, upon the information since given him, to have been an apparent breach of their privilege; and hath offered, and is ready, to repair the same for the future by any Act that shall be desired of His Majesty;) yet he must declare, and require to be believed, that he had no other design upon that House, or any Member of it, than to require, as he did, the surrender of the persons of those five Gentlemen whom His Majesty had the day before accused of High Treason, and to declare that he meant to proceed against them legally and speedily; upon which he believed that House would have delivered them up. And His Majesty calls the Almighty God to witness, that he was so far from any intention, or thought, of force, or violence, although that House had not delivered them according to his demand, or, in any case whatsoever, that he gave those his Servants, and others who then waited on His Majesty, express charge and command, that they should give no offence to any man; nay, if they received any provocation, or injury, that they should bear it without return: and His Majesty neither saw nor knew, that any person of his train had any other weapons, but such as were suitable to their several conditions, that is, his Pensioners and Guards, those weapons with which they usually attend his person to Parliament, and the other Gentlemen their swords. And, therefore, His Majesty doubts not but his Parliament will be regardful of his honour herein; that he shall not undergo any imputation by the rash, or indiscreet, expressions of any young men then in his Train, or by any desperate words uttered by others, who might mingle with them without his consent, or approbation.

For the persons nominated to be Lieutenants of the several Counties of *England* and *Wales*, His Majesty is contented to allow that recommendation. Onely concerning the City of *London*, and such other Corporations as, by ancient Charters, have, granted unto them, the power of the Militia, His Majesty doth not conceive, that it can stand with justice, or policy, to alter their government in that particular.

And His Majesty is willing forthwith to grant every of them, (that of *London* and those other Corporations excepted,) such Commissions as he hath done this Parliament to some Lord-Lieutenants by your advice. But, if that power be not thought enough, but that more shall be thought fit to be granted to these persons named than by the Law is in the Crown itself, His Majesty holds it reasonable, that the same be, by some Law, first vested in him, with power to transferre it to these persons; which he will willingly do. And, whatever that power shall be, to avoid all future doubts and questions, His Majesty desires it may be digested into an Act of Parliament, rather than an Ordinance, so that all his loving subjects may thereby particularly know both what they are to do, and what they are to suffer for their neglect; that there be as little latitude as possible for his good subjects to suffer under any Arbitrary power whatsoever.

As to the time desired for the continuance of the powers to be granted, His Majesty giveth this Answer, "That He cannot consent to divest Himselfe of the just power which God and the Lawes of this Kingdom have placed in Him for the de-

fence of His people, and to put it into the hands of others for any indefinite time. And, since the ground of this Request from his Parliament was, to remove their present feares and jealousies, that they might with safety apply themselves to the matter of his Message of the 20th of January, His Majesty hopeth that His Grace to them since that time in yielding to so many of their desires, and in agreeing to the Persons now recommended to him by his Parliament, and the power before expressed to be placed in them, will wholly dispell those feares and jealousies, and assureth them, that, as His Majesty hath now applyed this unusual remedy to their doubts, so (if there shall be cause) He will continue the same to such time as shall be agreeable to the same care he now expresseth towards them.

And, in this Answer, His Majesty is so far from receding from any thing he promised, or intended to grant, in his Answer to the former Petition, that His Majesty hath hereby consented to all that was then asked of him by that Petition concerning the Militia of the Kingdom (except that of *London*, and those other Corporations) which was to put the same into the hands of such persons as should be recommended unto Him by both Houses of Parliament: And His Majesty doubts not, but the Parliament, upon well weighing the particulars of this His Answer, will find the same more satisfactory to their ends, and the peace and welfare of all His good Subjects, than the way proposed by this intended Ordinance, to which, for these Reasons, His Majesty cannot consent.

And, whereas His Majesty observes, by the Petition of both Houses, presented to Him by the Earl of *Portland*, Sir *Thomas Heale*, and Sir *William Savile*, That in some places, some persons begin already to intermeddle, of themselves, with the Militia, His Majesty expecteth that His Parliament should examine the particulars thereof, it being a matter of high Concernment and very great Consequence.

And His Majesty requireth, that, if it shall appear to His Parliament, that any persons whatsoever have presumed to command the Militia without lawful Authority, they may be proceeded against according to Law.

A Copy of the PETITION of both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, concerning the MILITIA, &c. Presented to HIS MAJESTY at Theobalds, 1 Martii, 1641.

Most Gracious Sovereigne,

YOUR Majestie's most loyal and obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, doe find their just apprehensions of sorrow and feare, in respect of the publick dangers and miseries like to fall upon Your Majesty and the Kingdom, to be much increased, upon the receipt of Your unexpected denyal of their most humble and necessary Petition concerning the Militia of the Kingdom; especially grieving, that wicked and mischievous Counsellours should still have that power with Your Majesty, as in this time of imminent and approaching Ruine, rather to incline Your Resolutions to that which is apt to further the accomplishment of the desires

desires of the most malignant enemies of God's true Religion, and of the peace and safety of Your Self, and Your Kingdom; than to the dutiful and faithful Counsel of Your Parliament.

Wherefore they are enforced in all humility to Protest, That, if Your Majesty shall persist in that denial, the dangers and distempers of the Kingdom are such as will endure no longer delay: But, unlesse You shall be graciously pleased to assure them by these Messengers, that you will speedily apply Your Royal Assent to the satisfaction of their former desires, they shall be enforced, for the safety of Your Majesty and Your Kingdomes, to dispose of the Militia by the Authority of both Houses, in such manner as hath been propounded to Your Majesty, and they resolve to doe it accordingly.

They likewise most humbly beseech Your Majesty to believe, That the dangerous and desperate Designe upon the House of Commons, mentioned in their Preamble, was not inserted with any intention to cast the least aspersion upon Your Majesty, but therein they reflected upon that malignant party, of whose bloody and malicious practices they have had so often experience, and from which they can never be secure, unlesse Your Majesty will be pleased to put from You those wicked and unfaithful Counsellours, who interpose their own corrupt and malicious Designs betwixt Your Majestie's Goodness and Wisdome, and the prosperity and contentment of Your Selfe and of Your people: And that for the dispatch of the great affaires of the Kingdom, the safety of Your Person, the protection and comfort of Your Subjects, You will be pleased to continue Your abode near to *London* and the Parliament, and not to withdraw Your Selfe to any the remoter parts; which if Your Majesty should doe, it must needs be a cause of great danger and distraction.

That Your Majesty will likewise be graciously pleased to continue the Prince's Highnesse in these parts, at Saint *James's*, or any other of Your houses neere *London*, whereby the Designs which the enemies of the Religion and Peace of this Kingdom may have upon his Person, and the jealousies and feares of Your People, may be prevented.

And they beseech Your Majesty to be informed by them, That, by the Lawes of the Kingdom, the power of raising, ordering, and disposing of the Militia within any City, Town, or other place, cannot be granted to any Corporation by Charter, or otherwise, without the Authority and consent of Parliament: And that those parts of the Kingdom which have put themselves in a posture of defence against the common danger, have therein done nothing but according to the Declaration and direction of both Houses, and what is justifiable by the Lawes of this Kingdom.

All which their most humble counsell and desires, they pray Your Majesty to accept as the effect of that Duty and Allegiance which they owe unto You, and which will not suffer them to admit of any thoughts, intentions, or endeavours, but such as are necessary and advantageous for Your Majestie's Greatnesse and

Honour, and the safety and prosperity of the Kingdom, according to that Trust and Power which the Lawes have reposed in them.

HIS MAJESTIE'S ANSWER, to the PETITION of both HOUSES, Presented the first of March, 1641.

I AM so much amazed at this Message, that I know not what to Answer: You speak of Jealousies and Feares: Lay you hands to your hearts, and ask yourselves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with Feares and Jealousies: And, if so, I Assure you this Message hath nothing lessened them.

For the Militia, I thought so much of it before I sent that Answer, and am so much assured that the Answer is agreeable to what in Justice or Reason you can ask, or I in Honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point.

For my Residence neere you, I wish it might be so safe and Honourable, that I had no cause to absent my Selfe from *White-hall*; Aske your selves whether I have not.

For my Son, I shall take that care of him, which shall justify me to God as a Father, and to my Dominions as a King.

To conclude, I assure you, upon my Honour, that I have no thought but of Peace and Justice to my People, which I shall, by all faire meanes, seek to preserve and maintain, relying upon the Goodness and providence of God, for the preservation of my Selfe and Rights.

Divers Questions upon HIS MAJESTIE'S last Answer, concerning the MILITIA, Resolved-upon by the House of COMMONS.

RESOLVED, &c. That this Answer of His Majesty, is a denial to the desires of both Houses of Parliament, concerning the Militia.

Resolved, &c. That those that advised His Majesty to give this Answer, are Enemies to the State, and mischievous Projectors against the defence of the Kingdom.

Resolved, &c. That this denial is of that dangerous Consequence, that, if His Majesty shall persist in it, It will hazard the Peace and safety of all his Kingdoms, unlesse some speedy remedy be applyed by the Wisdome and Authority of both Houses of Parliament.

Resolved, &c. That, such Parts of this Kingdom as have put themselves into a Posture of defence against the common danger, have done nothing but what is justifiable, and is approved by the House.

Resolved, &c. That, if His Majesty shall remove into any remote Parts from his Parliament, it will be a great hazard to the Kingdom; and a great prejudice to the Proceedings of the Parliament.

Resolved,

Resolved, &c. That this House holds it necessary, That His Majesty may be desired, That the Prince may come unto Saint *James's*, or to some other convenient place near about *London*, and there to continue.

Resolved, &c. That the Lords be desired to join with this House in an humble request unto His Majesty; That he will be pleased to reside neere his Parliament; That both Houses may have a convenience of Access unto him upon all occasions.

Resolved, &c. That the Lords be moved to join with this House in some fit course of examination, to find "who were the Persons that gave His Majesty this advice;" That they may be removed from His Majesty, and brought to condigne punishment.

Resolved, &c. That no Charter can be granted by the King to create a power in any Corporation over the Militia of that place, without consent of Parliament.

Resolved, &c. That the Lords shall be moved to join with this House in these Votes.

Resolved, &c. That the Lords shall be desired to appoint a select Committee, that may join with a Committee of a proportionable number of this House; to consider, and prepare, what is fit to be done upon these Votes, or upon any thing else that may arise upon this Answer of His Majesty concerning the Militia and concerning the Prince.

March 2.

Questions resolved upon by both Houses of PARLIAMENT, with an Order for the speedy Rigging of the NAVY, for the defence of the KINGDOM.

RESOLVED, &c. That the Kingdom be forth-with put into a Posture of defence, by authority of both Houses, in such a way as is already agreed-upon by both Houses of Parliament.

Resolved, &c. That the Lords be desired to join with the House of Commons in this Vote.

Resolved, &c. That a Committee shall be appointed to prepare a Declaration upon these two Heads, *viz.*

1. To lay-down the just causes of the feares and jealousies given to these Houses: and to clear these Houses from any jealousies conceived against them.

2. And to consider of all matters that may arise upon this Message of His Majesty, and to declare their opinions what is fit to be done thereupon.

Die

Die Mercurii, 2. Martii.

THE Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having received advertisement of extraordinary preparations made by the neighbouring Princes, both by Land and Sea; the intentions whereof have been so represented as to raise an apprehension in both Houses, That the publick Honour, Peace, and Safety of His Majesty and his Kingdom, cannot be secured, unlesse a timely course be taken for the putting of this Kingdom into a Condition of defence, at Sea, as well as Land: It is therefore Ordered by the Lords and Commons aforesaid, That the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord-High Admiral of *England*, do forth-with give effectual direction and order, that all and every the Ships belonging to His Majestie's Navy, which are fit for service, and not already abroad, nor designed for this Summer's Fleet, be with all speed rigged, and put in such a readinesse, as that they may soon be fitted for the Sea; And that his Lordship do also make knowne unto all the Masters and Owners of such Ships as now are in, or about, any of the Harbours of this Kingdome, and may be of use for the publick defence thereof, That it will be an acceptable service to the King and Parliament, if they likewise will cause their Ships to be Rigged, and so far put in a readinesse as that they may be, at a short warning, set-forth to Sea, upon any emergent occasion: Which will be a means of great security to His Majesty and his Dominions.

The DECLARATION.

May it please your Majesty,

ALTHOUGH the Expressions in your Majestie's Message, of the second of this instant, *March*, do give just cause of sorrow to us, your faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, yet it is not without some mixture of confidence and hope, considering they proceeded from the mis-apprehension of our Actions and Intentions; which, (having no ground of Truth, or reality,) may, by your Majestie's Justice and Wisdom, be removed, when your Majesty shall be fully informed, that those Feares and Jealousies of ours, which your Majesty thinks to be causeless and without any just ground, do necessarily and cleerly arise from those dangers and distempers, into which the mischievous and evil Counsels about you have brought this Kingdom; And that those other Fears and Jealousies, by which your favour, your Royal Presence, and confidence, have been withdrawn from your Parliament, have no foundation, or subsistence, in any action, intention, or miscarriage, of ours, but are meerly grounded upon the falshood and malice of those, who, (for the supporting and fomenting their own wicked designes, against the Religion and Peace of the Kingdom,) do seek to deprive your Majesty of the Strength and Affection of your People, and them of your Grace and Protection, and thereby to subject both your Royal Person and the whole Kingdom to ruin and destruction.

To

To satisfy your Majestie's judgement and conscience in both these points, we desire to make a cleer and free Declaration of the causes of our fears and jealousies; which we offer to your Majesty in these particulars:

1. That the designe of altering Religion, in this, and in your other Kingdoms, hath been potently carried-on by those in greatest Authority about you, for divers yeers together. The Queen's Agent at *Rome*, and the Pope's agent, or Nuncio, here, are not only evidences of this design, but have been great Actors in it.

2. That the War with *Scotland* was procured to make way for this intent, and chiefly invited and fomented by the Papists, and others Popishly-affected: whereof we have many evidences, and especially their free and general contribution to it.

3. That the Rebellion in *Ireland* was framed and contrived here in *England*; and that the English Papists were expected to have risen about the same time, we have several testimonies and advertisements from *Ireland*; and that it is a common speech amongst the Rebels: wherewith concur other Evidences, and observations, of the suspicions, meetings, and consultations, the tumultuary and seditious carriage, of those of that Religion, in divers parts of this Kingdom, about the time of the breaking-out of the Irish Rebellion. The deposition of *O'Connelly*,—the Information of Master *Cole*, Minister,—the Letter of *Trestram Whitcombe*,—the deposition of *Thomas Crant*,—and many others which we may produce, do all agree in this. The publike Declaration of the Lords, Gentlemen, and others of the Pale, that they would join with the Rebels, (whom they call *the Irish Army*), or any other, to recover unto his Majesty his Royal Prerogative, wrested from him by the Puritan Faction in the Houses of Parliament in *England*, and to maintain the same against all others, as also to maintain Episcopal Jurisdiction, and the lawfulness thereof; these two being Quarrels, upon which his Majestie's late Army in the North should have been incensed against us.

N. B.

The great cause we have to doubt, that that late design, styled, *The Queen's pious Intention*, was for the alteration of Religion in this Kingdom; for the success whereof, the Pope's Nuncio, the Count *Rosetti*, enjoined Fasting and Praying to be observed every Week by the English Papists; which appeared to us by one of the Original Letters directed by him to a Priest in *Lancashire*.

The boldness of the Irish Rebels, in affirming that they do nothing, but by Authority from the King: That they call themselves *the Queen's Army*: That the prey, or booty, which they take from the *English*, they mark with *the Queen's Mark*: That their purpose was to come to *England*, after they had done in *Ireland*, and sundry other things of this kind, proved by *O'Connelly*, and divers others, especially in the fore-mentioned Letter from *Trestram Whitcombe*, the Mayor of *Kinsale*, to his Brother *Benjamin Whitcombe*, wherein there is this passage, "That many other strange speeches they utter about Religion and our Court of *England*, which he dares not commit to paper."

N. B.

The manifold attempts to provoke Your Majestie's late Army, and the Army of the *Scots*, and to raise a faction in the City of *London* and other parts of the Kingdom:

Kingdom : That those who have been Actors in those businesses, have had their dependance, their countenance, and encouragement from the Court ; Witness the Treason whereof Master *Jermin* and others stand accused, who was transported beyond Sea by Warrant under Your Majestie's Hand, after Your Majesty had given Assurance to your Parliament, that Your Majesty had laid a strict command upon all your Servants, that none of them should depart from Court : And that dangerous Petition, delivered to Captain *Leg* by your Majestie's own Hand, accompanied with a direction, Signed with *C. R.*

N. B.

The false and scandalous accusation against the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members of the House of Commons, tender'd to the Parliament by your Majestie's own command,—endeavoured to be justified in the City by your own presence and perswasion, and to be put in execution upon their persons, by your Majestie's demand of them, in the House of Commons, in so terrible and violent a manner as far exceeded all former breaches of Priviledges of Parliament, acted by your Majesty, or any of your Predecessors : And (whatsoever your own intentions were,) divers bloody and desperate persons, which attended your Majesty, discovered their affections and resolutions to have massacred and destroyed the Members of that House, if the absence of those persons accused had not, by God's providence, stopt the giving of that word, which they expected, for the setting them upon that barbarous and bloody act :—The Listing of so many Officers, Souldiers, and others,—putting them into pay and under command of Colonels,—feasting and caressing them in an unusual manner at *Whitehall* ;—thereby maintaining them in the violent assaults, and other injuries, which they offered to divers of your Subjects who were coming that way in a lawful and peaceable manner :—the carrying them out of Towne ; after which, they were told by the Lord *Digby*, That the King removed on purpose, that they might not be trampled in the dirt :—And keeping them so long in pay, and endeavouring to engage the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court in the same course :—The plotting and designing of a perpetual Guard about your Majesty :—The labouring to infuse into your Majestie's Subjects an evil opinion of the Parliament thorow the whole Kingdom ;—and other Symptoms of a disposition of raising Arms and dividing your people by a Civil War ; in which combustion, *Ireland* must needs be lost, and this Kingdom miserably wasted and consumed, if not wholly ruined and destroyed.

N. B.

That,—after a Vote had passed in the House of Commons, declaring, That the Lord *Digby* had appeared in a warlike manner at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, to the terrour and affright of your Majestie's good Subjects, and the disturbance of the public peace of the Kingdom ; and that, therefore, the Lords should be moved to require his attendance ;—he should, nevertheless, be of that credit with your Majesty, as to be sent-away by your own Warrant to Sir *John Pennington* to land him beyond the Sea ; from whence he vented his own traiterous conceptions, “ That your Majesty should declare yourself, and retire to a place of strength in this Kingdom,” as if your Majesty could not be safe among your people : And, withall, took that transcendent boldness, to write to the Queen, offering to entertain correspondence,

respondency with her Majesty by Cyphers, intimating some service which he might do in those Parts, for which he desired your Majesty's instructions; whereby, in probability, he intended the procuring of some foreign Force, to strengthen your Majesty in that condition into which he would have brought you: Which false and malicious counsel and advice, we have great cause to doubt, made too deep an impression on your Majesty, considering the course you are pleased to take, of absenting yourself from your Parliament, and carrying the Prince with you; which seems to express a purpose in your Majesty, to keep yourself in a readiness for the acting of it.

N. B.

The manifold Advertisements, which we have had from *Rome, Venice, Paris*, and other parts, that they still expect, that your Majesty has some great design in hand, for the altering of Religion, and the breaking the neck of your Parliament:—That you will yet find means to compass that Design;—that the Pope's *Nuncio* hath solicited the Kings of *France* and *Spain* to lend your Majesty four thousand men a-piece, to help to maintain your Royalty against the Parliament. And this Foreign force, as it is the most pernicious and malignant Design of all the rest, so we hope it is, and shall always be, farthest from your Majesty's thoughts; because no man can believe that you will give-up your people and Kingdom to be spoiled by strangers, if you did not likewise intend to change both your own Profession in Religion and the publick Profession of the Kingdom, that so you might still be more assured of the assistance of those Foreign States who are attached to the Popish Religion, for your future support and defence.

These are some of the grounds of our fears and Jealousies, which made us so earnestly to implore your royal Authority and Protection for our defence and security, in all the ways of Humility and submission: which being denyed by your Majesty, seduced by evil Counsel, we do (with sorrow for the great and unavoidable misery and danger which thereby is like to fall upon your own person and your Kingdoms,) apply ourselves to the use of that power, for the security and defence of both, which, by the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of this Kingdom, resides in us; yet still resolving to keep ourselves within the bounds of faithfulness and allegiance to your sacred Person and your Crown: so that, as to the second sort of Jealousies and fears of Us, exprest by your Majesty, we shall give a shorter, but as true and as faithful an Answer.

Whereas, Your Majesty is pleased to say, that, as to your residence neere the Parliament, you wish it might be so safe and honourable that you had no cause to absent yourself from *Whitehall*.—This we take as the greatest breach of Privilege of Parliament that can be offered;—As the heaviest misery to yourself, and imputation upon us, that can be imagined;—And the most mischievous effect of evil Counsels. It roots-up the strongest foundation of the safety and honour which your Crown affords; It seems, as much as may be, to cast upon the Parliament such a charge as is inconsistent with the nature of that great Council, being the Body whereof your Majesty is the Head: it strikes at the very being, both of King and Parliament; depriving your Majesty, in your own apprehension, of
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their Fidelity, and them of your Protection; which are the mutual bands and supports of Government and Subjection,

We have, according to your Majesty's desire, laid our hands upon our hearts; we have asked ourselves, in the strictest examination of our Consciences; we have searcht our affections, our thoughts; considered our Actions: and we find none that can give your Majesty any just occasion to absent yourself from *Whitehall* and the Parliament; but that you may, with more honour and safety, continue there than in any other place.

Your Majesty lays a general tax upon us. If you will be graciously pleased to let us know the particulars, we shall give a clear and satisfactory Answer: But what hope can we have of ever giving your Majesty satisfaction, when those particulars which you have been made to believe were true, did, nevertheless, when they were produced and made known to us, appear to be false; and your Majesty, notwithstanding, will neither punish nor produce the Authors, but go on to contract new Jealousies and Fears, upon general and uncertain grounds, affording us no means, or possibility, of particular Answer, to the clearing of ourselves: For proof whereof, we beseech your Majesty to consider these Instances.

The Speeches alledged to be spoken in a meeting of divers Members of both Houses at *Kensington*, concerning a purpose of restraining the Queen and Prince: which, after it was denied and disavowed, yet your Majesty refused to name the Authors, though humbly desired by both Houses.

The report of Articles framed against the Queen's Majesty, given-out by some of neer relation to the Court: but, when it was publickly and constantly disclaimed, the credit seemed to be withdrawn from it. But the Authors, being kept safe, will always be ready for exploits of the same kind, wherewith your Majesty, and the Queen, will be often troubled, if this course be taken to cherish and secure them in such wicked and malicious slanders.

The heavy charge and accusation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the House of Commons, who refused no trial or examination which might stand with the Priviledge of Parliament: yet no Authors, no witnesses, have been produced; against whom they may have reparation for the great injury and infamy cast upon them, notwithstanding three several Petitions of both Houses, and the authority of two Acts of Parliament vouched in the last of those Petitions.

We beseech your Majesty to consider, in what State you are; how easy and fair a way you have to happiness, honour, greatness, plenty, and security; if you will join with the Parliament and your faithful Subjects, in defence of the Religion and publick good of the Kingdom. This is all we expect from you; and for this we shall return to you our lives, fortunes, and uttermost endeavours, to support your Majesty, your just Sovereignty and power over us. But it is not words that can secure us, in these our humble desires. We cannot but too well and sorrowfully remember, what gracious Messages we had from you the last Summer, when, with your privity, the bringing-up the Army was in agitation. We cannot, but with the like affections, recal to our minds, how, not two days before you gave directions,

N B.

rections for the above-mentioned accusation, and your own coming to the Commons House, that House received from your Majesty a gracious Message, that you would always have as great care of their Priviledges as of your own Prerogative ; and of the safety of their persons, as of that of your own children. That which we expect ;—which will give us assurance, that you have no thought, but of peace, and justice to your People ;—must be some real effect of your goodness to them, in granting those things which the present necessities of the Kingdom do enforce us to desire : And, in the first place, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to put from you those wicked and mischievous Counsellors which have caused all these dangers and distractions, and to continue your own Residence, and the Prince's, near *London* and the Parliament : which, we hope, will be a happy beginning of contentment and confidence betwixt your Majesty and your People, and be followed with many succeeding blessings of Honour and Greatness to your Majesty, and of security and prosperity to them.

The Additional REASONS.

THE Lords and Commons have commanded us, to present unto your Majesty this further Addition to their former Declaration.

That your Majestie's return and continuance near the Parliament, is a matter, in their apprehension, of so great necessity and importance, towards the preservation of your Royal Person and your Kingdoms, that they cannot think they have discharged their duties, in the single expression of their desire, unless they add some further Reasons to back it with.

I. *Your Majestie's absence will cause men to believe, that it is out of design to discourage the undertakers, and hinder the other Provisions, for raising money for the defence of Ireland.*

II. *It will very much hearten the Rebels there, and disaffected persons in this Kingdom, as being an evidence and effect of the jealousy and division betwixt your Majesty and your People.*

III. *That it will much weaken and withdraw the affection of the Subject from your Majesty ; without which a Prince is deprived of his chiefest strength and lustre, and left naked to the greatest dangers and miseries that can be imagined.*

IV. *That it will invite and encourage the Enemies of our Religion and the State, in foreign Parts, to the attempting and acting of their evil designs and intentions towards us.*

V. *That it causeth a great interruption in the proceedings of Parliament.*

These considerations threaten so great danger to your Majestie's Person, and to all your Dominions, that, as your Majestie's great Council, they hold it necessary to represent to You this their faithful Advice, that so, whatsoever followeth, they may be excused before God and man.

His MAJESTY'S Speech to the COMMITTEE, on the ninth of March, 1641, when they presented the DECLARATION of both Houses of PARLIAMENT, at NEWMARKET.

I AM confident that you expect not that I should give you a speedy Answer to this strange and unexpected Declaration; And I am sorry that, (in the Distraction of this Kingdom,) you should think this way of Address to be more convenient than that proposed by my Message, of the 20th of January last, to both Houses.

As concerning the grounds of your Fears and Jealousies, I will take time to answer particularly, and doubt not but I shall do it to the satisfaction of all the World. God, in his good time, will, I hope, discover the secrets and bottoms of all Plots and Treasons; and then I shall stand right in the eyes of all my People. In the mean time, I must tell you, That I rather expected a Vindication, for the Imputation laid on me in Master *Pym's* Speech, than that any more general Rumours and Discourses should get credit with you.

For my Fears and Doubts, I did not think they should have been thought so groundless, or trivial, while so many Seditious Pamphlets, and Sermons, are looked-upon, and so great Tumults are remember'd, unpunished, uninquied-into. I still confess my Fears, and call God to witness, That they are greater for the true Protestant Profession, my People, and the Laws, than for my own Rights or Safety; though I must tell you, I conceive that none of these are free from danger.

What would you have? Have I violated your Laws? Have I denied to pass any one Bill, for the ease and security of my Subjects? I do not ask you, what you have done for Me.

Have any of my People been transported with Fears and Apprehensions? I have offered as free and general a Pardon as yourselves can devise. All this considered, There is a Judgement from Heaven upon this Nation, if these Distractions continue.

God so deal with Me and Mine as all my thoughts and Intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, and for the Observation and Preservation of the Laws of this Land: And I hope God will bless and assist those Laws for my Preservation.

As for the Additional Declaration, you are to expect an Answer to it, when you shall receive the Answer to the Declaration itself.

Some Passages, that happened the 9th of March, between the KING'S MAJESTY, and the Committee of both Houses, when the DECLARATION was delivered.

WHEN His Majesty heard that Part of the Declaration which mentioned Master *Jermin's* Transportation, His Majesty interrupted the Earl of *Holland* in reading, and said, "That's false." Which being afterwards touched-upon again, His

His Majesty then said, "'Tis a lye." And when he was informed, that it related not to the Date, but to the Execution, of the Warrant, His Majesty said, "It might have been better expressed then, and that it was a high thing to tax a King with breach of Promise." As for this Declaration, His Majesty said, "I could not have believed that the Parliament would have sent me such a one, if I had not seen it brought by such persons of honour. I am sorry for the Parliament; but glad I have the Declaration: For by *that* I doubt not to satisfy my People; though I am confident the greater part is so already."

Ye speak of ill Counsels: but I am Confident the Parliament hath had worse Informations than I have had Counsels. His Majesty asking, what he had denied the Parliament, The Earl of *Holland* instanced that of the *Militia*. His Majesty replied, "That was no Bill;" the Earl of *Holland* then said, "it was a necessary request at this time;" and his Majesty also then said, "he had not denied it."

What passed the next day, when HIS MAJESTY delivered his ANSWER.

WHICH was read by the Earl of *Holland* to the rest of the Committee; And that being done, His Lordship endeavoured to perswade his Majesty to come near the Parliament. Whereunto his Majesty answered, "I would you had given me cause; but I am sure this Declaration is not the way to it. And in all *Aristotle's Rhetoricks*, there is no such Argument of Perswasion." The Earl of *Pembroke*, thereupon, telling him that the Parliament had humbly besought his Majesty, to come near them aforesaid, His Majesty replied, "He had learnt by Our Declaration, that words were not sufficient." His Majesty being then again moved, by the said Earl of *Pembroke*, to express what he would have; said, "He would whip a boy in *Westminster* School, that could not tell that by his Answer." And further said, "They were much mistaken, if they thought his Answer of that a denial:" And, being also asked by the said Earl of *Pembroke*, "Whether the *Militia* might not be granted, as was desired by the Parliament, for a time?" His Majesty swore, "By God, not for an houre; you have askt that of me in this, which was never askt of a King, and with which I will not trust my Wife and Children."

His Majesty said, *The Businesse of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in; Foure hundred will never doe that Work. It must be put into the hands of One. If I were trusted with it, I would pawn my head to end that Work. And, though I am a beggar my-selfe, yet (speaking with a strong asseveration) I can find money for that.*

HIS MAJESTIE'S DECLARATION to both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, (Which He likewise recommends to the consideration of all His loving Subjects) in Answer to that presented to Him at Newmarket, the ninth of March, 1641.

THOUGH the Declaration lately presented to Us at *New-market*, from both Our Houses of Parliament, be of so strange a nature, in respect of what We expected

pected (after so many Acts of Grace and Favour to Our People) and some expressions in it so different from the usual Language to Princes, that We might well take a very long time to consider it; Yet the cleerness and uprightness of Our Conscience to God, and love to Our Subjects, hath supplied Us with a speedy Answer, and Our unalterable Affections to Our People have prevailed with Us to suppress that passion which might have well-enough become Us upon such an Invitation.

We have reconsidered Our Answer of the first of this moneth at *Theobalds*, which is urged to have given just cause of sorrow to Our Subjects. Whosoever looks over that Message (which was in effect to tell Us, That, if We would not join with them in an Act which, We conceived, might prove prejudicial and dangerous to Us and the whole Kingdome, they would make a Law without Us, and impose it upon Our People) will not think that sudden Answer can be excepted-to.

We have little encouragement to Replies of this nature, when We are told of how little value Our words are like to be with you, though they come accompanied with all the Actions of Love and Justice, where there is room for such Actions to accompany them. Yet We cannot but disavow the having any such evil Counsel, or Counsellours, about Us, to Our knowledge, as are mentioned; and, if any such be discovered, We will leave them to the Censure and Judgement of Our Parliament. In the mean time, We could wish, that Our owne immediate Actions, which We avow, and Our own Honour, might not be so roughly censured and wounded, under that common style of Evil Counsellours.

For Our Faithful and zealous affection to the true Protestant Profession, and Our resolution to concur with Our Parliament in any possible course for the propagation of it and the suppression of Popery, We can say no more than We have already expressed in our Declaration to all Our loving Subjects, published in January last, by the advice of Our Privy-Council; in which We endeavoured to make as lively a Confession of our Self in this point, as we were able, being most assured, that the constant Practice of Our Life hath been answerable thereunto: And therefore We did rather expect a Testimony and acknowledgment of such Our Zeal and Piety, than those Expressions which We meet-with in this Declaration, of any designe of altering Religion in this Kingdom. And We doe (out of the innocency of Our Soul) wish, that the Judgements of Heaven may be manifested upon those who have, or had, any such Designe.

As for the *Scots* troubles, We had well thought that those unhappy differences had been wrapt-up in perpetual silence, by the Act of Oblivion; which, being solemnly past in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, stops Our mouth from any other Reply than to shew Our great dislike to the reviving the memory thereof.

If the Rebellion in *Ireland*, (so odious to all Christians) seems to have been framed and maintained in *England*, or to have any countenance from hence, We conjure both Our Houses of Parliament, and all Our loving Subjects whatsoever, to use all possible meanes to discover and find such out, that We may join in the most

most exemplary vengeance upon them that can be imagined : But We must thinke Our-self highly and causelessly injured in Our Reputation, if any Declaration, Action, or Expression, of the Irish Rebels, any Letter from Count *Rosetti* to the Papists for Fasting and Praying, or from *Trestram Whitcombe*, of strange speeches uttered in *Ireland*, shall beget any jealousy, or misapprehension, in our Subjects, of Our Justice, Piety, and Affection, it being evident to all understandings, That those mischievous and wicked Rebels are not so capable of great advantage, [by any other circumstance] as by having their false discourses so far believed as to raise Fears and Jealousies to the distraction of this Kingdom, which is the onely way to their security : And We cannot expresse a deeper sense of the sufferings of Our poor Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom than We have done in our often-repeated Messages to both Houses, by which We have offered, and are still ready, to venture Our Royal Person for their Redemption ; well knowing, that, as We are (in Our own Interest) more concerned in them, so We are to make a strict Account to Almighty God for any neglect of Our duty for their preservation.

For the manifold attempts to provoke Our late Army, and the Army of the *Scots*, and to raise a Faction in the City of *London*, and other part of the Kingdom : If it be said, as relating to Us, We cannot, without great indignation, suffer Our-Self to be reproached, to have intended the least Force, or threatning, to Our Parliament ; as the being privy to the bringing-up of the Army would imply : Whereas, We call God to witness, We never had any such thought, or knew of any such resolution, concerning Our late Army.

For the Petition shewed to Us by Captain *Legge*, We well remember the same, and the occasion of that Conference. Captain *Legge* being lately come out of the North, and repairing to Us at *White-hall*, We asked him of the state of Our Army, and (after some relation made of it) he told Us, That the Commanders and Officers of the Army had a mind to petition the Parliament, as others of Our people had done, and shewed Us the Copy of a Petition : which We read, and (finding it to be very humble, desiring that the Parliament might receive no interruption in the Reformation of the Church and State to the model of Queen *Elizabeth's* days ;) We told him, We saw no harm in it : Whereupon he replied, That he believed all the Officers of the Army would like it ; onely he thought that Sir *Jacob Ashley* would be unwilling to sign it, out of feare that it might displease Us. We then read the Petition over again ; and then (observing nothing in it, either in matter or forme, that, as We conceived, could possibly give just cause of offence,) we delivered it to him againe, bidding him give it to Sir *Jacob Ashley*, for whose satisfaction We had written *C. R.* upon it, to testify Our approbation. And We wish that the Petition might even now be seen and published ; and then, We believe, it will appear to have been of no dangerous tendency, nor a just ground for the least jealousy or misapprehension.

For Master *Jermin*, it is well known that he was gone from *White-hall* before We received the desire of both Houses for the restraint of Our servants : neither did he return thither, or pass-over, by any Warrant granted by Us after that time.

For

An account of the Petition of the English Army, in the North of England to the Parliament, brought-up by Captain Legge, and shewn to the King.

For the breach of Priviledge in the Accusation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the House of Commons, We thought We had given so ample satisfaction in Our several Messages to that purpose, that it should be no more pressed against Us, being confident that, if the breach of Priviledge had been greater than hath been ever before offered, our acknowledgement and retraction hath been greater than ever King hath given;—besides the not examining how many of Our Priviledges have been invaded in defence and vindication of the other. And therefore We hoped that Our true and earnest Protestation in Our Answer to your Order concerning the Militia, would so far have satisfied you of Our intentions there, that you would no more have entertained any imagination of any other designe than We there expressed.

But, why the listing of so many Officers, and entertaining them at *White-hall*, should be misconstrued, We much marvel, when it is notoriously known that the tumults at *Westminster* were so great, and their demeanours so scandalous and seditious, that We had good cause to suppose Our owne Person, and those of Our Wife and Children, to be in apparent danger, and therefore We had great reason to appoint a Guard about Us, and to accept the dutiful tender of the services of any of Our loving Subjects; which was all We did to the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court.

For the Lord *Digby*, We assure you, in the word of a King, that he had Our Warrant to passe the Seas, and had left Our Court, before We ever heard of the Vote of the House of Commons, or had any cause to imagine that his absence would have been excepted-against.

What your Advertisements are from *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, and other parts,—or what the *Pope's Nuntio* solicits the Kings of *France* or *Spain* to do,—or from what persons such Informations come to you,—or how the credit and reputation of such persons have been sifted and examined,—We know not; but we are confident no sober, honest, man in Our Kingdoms can believe, that We are so desperate, or so senselesse, as to entertain such Designes as would not only bury this Our Kingdom in sudden distraction and ruine, but Our owne Name and Posterity in perpetual Scorn and Infamy. And therefore We could have wished, that, in matters of so high and tender a nature (wherewith the minds of Our good Subjects must needs be startled) all the expressions were so plain and easy, that nothing might stick with them with reflection upon Us, since you thought fit to publish it all.

And, having now dealt thus plainly and freely with you by way of Answer to the particular grounds of your Feares, We hope (upon a due consideration and weighing both together) you will not find the grounds to be of that moment to beget, or longer to continue, a misunderstanding betwixt Us, or force you to apply yourselves to the use of any other power than what the Law hath given you; the which We alwayes intend shall be the measure of Our own power, and expect it shall be the rule of Our Subjects obedience.

Concerning Our Feares and Jealousies, as We had no intention of accusing you, so are We sure no words spoken by Us (on the sudden) at *Theobalds* will beare that

that Interpretation. We said, as to Our Residence neere you, "We wished it might be so safe and Honourable that We should have no cause to absent Our-Selfe from *Whitehall*:" and how this can be a breach of Priviledge of Parliament, We cannot understand. We explained Our meaning in Our Answer at *New-Market*, at the Presentation of this Declaration, concerning the Printed seditious Pamphlets and Sermons, and the great tumults at *Westminster*: And We must appeal to you and to all the world, whether We might not justly suppose Our Self in danger of either. And, if We were now at *White-hall*, what security have We, that the like shall not happen againe, especially if any Delinquents of that nature have been apprehended by the Ministers of Justice, and been rescued by the People, and so have, as yet, escaped unpunished? If you have not been informed of the seditious words used in, and the circumstances of, those Tumults, and will appoint some way for the examination of them, We will require some of Our learned Counsel to attend with such evidence as may satisfy you. And till that be done, or some other course taken for Our security, you cannot (with reason) wonder that We intend not to be where We most desire to be.

And can there yet want evidence of Our hearty and importunate desire to join with Our Parliament and all Our faithful Subjects in defence of the Religion and publick good of the Kingdom? Have We given you no other earnest but words, to secure you of those desires? The very remonstrance of the House of Commons (published in *November* last) of the State of the Kingdom, allows Us a more real testimony of Our good Affections than words: that Remonstrance valued Our Acts of Grace and Justice at so high a rate, that it declared the Kingdome to be then a gainer, though it had charged itself, by Bills of Subsidies and Poll-money, with the leavy of 600,000 pounds, besides the contracting of a Debt to Our Scots Subjects of 220,000 pounds.

Are the Bills for the Triennial Parliament, For relinquishing Our Title of Imposing upon Merchandize, and Power of Pressing of Souldiers,—for the taking-away the Star-Chamber and High-Commission Courts,—for the Regulating the Council-Table,—nothing more than words? Are the Bills for the Forests,—The Stannary-Courts,—The Clerke of the Market,—And the taking-away the Votes of Bishops out of the Lords House,—nothing but words?—Lastly, what greater Earnest of Our trust and reliance on Our Parliament could, or can, We give, than the passing of the Bill for the continuance of this present Parliament? The length of which, we hope, will never alter the nature of Parliaments and the Constitution of this Kingdome, or invite Our Subjects so much to abuse Our Confidence, as to esteem any thing fit for this Parliament to doe, which would not be as much so if it were in our power to dissolve the Parliament to-morrow. And, after all these, and many other, Acts of Grace on Our part (that We might be sure of a perfect Reconciliation betwixt Us and all Our Subjects) We have offered, and are still ready to grant, a free and general Pardon, as ample as yourselves shall think fit. Now, if these be not real expressions of the

Affections of Our Soule, for the publick good of Our Kingdom, we must confesse that We want skill to manifest them.

To conclude (although we think Our Answer already full to that point) concerning Our Returne to *London*: We are willing to Declare, that We looke upon it as a matter of so great weight, as with reference to the Affaires of this Kingdom, and to our own inclinations and desires, that, if all We can say, or doe, can raise a mutual Confidence (the onely way, with God's blessing, to make us all happy) and, by your encouragement, the Lawes of the Land, and the government of the City of *London*, may recover some life for Our Security, We will overtake your desires, and be as soon with you as you can wish. And, in the mean time, We will be sure, that neither the businesse of *Ireland*, or any other advantage for this Kingdom, shall suffer through Our default, or by our absence: We being so farre from repenting the Acts of Our Justice and Grace, which We have already performed to Our People, that We shall, with the same Alacrity, be still ready to adde such new ones as may best advance the Peace, Honour, and Prosperity of this Nation.

A Letter sent from both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, to all the High-Sheriffs of this KINGDOM, concerning the late Propositions for IRELAND.

Master Sheriff,

THE Lords and Commons; being deeply sensible of the unspeakable calamities which his Majestie's good Subjects of the Kingdom of *Ireland* doe now suffer, by the barbarous cruelties and massacres committed by the Rebels there; and conceiving these printed Propositions herewith sent (which are ratified by His Majestie's Royal Assent, and the unanimous approbation of both Houses of Parliament) doe undoubtedly tend to the speedy and effectual reducing of those bloody Rebels, the propagating of the Protestant Religion, the augmenting of the greatnesse and the Revenue of the Crowne of *England*, and the establishing of an happy and firm Peace for the future in his Majestie's three Kingdoms; and all this to be effected (by God's gracious assistance) without the general charge of the Subject, and to the great advantage of those that shall under-write;—have thought fit to require you to publish these printed Propositions and Instructions at this Lent-Assizes, to the intent that all His Majestie's good people within your County may take notice of the benefit which they may receive by under-writing in due time; And that so many of them as shall be then present and willing to subscribe, may give-up a Note of their Names, Sums, and dates of their Subscriptions, to you, to be entred in the Paper-book mentioned in the printed Instructions, which is forthwith to be sent unto you. And you are further directed hereby, at this Lent-Assizes (if they be not past) by the advice and assistance of the Justices of Peace for your County then present, to appoint certaine days and places most convenient for this service; when and where your selfe,

selfe, and the Justices of Peace within each division, will be present, to receive the Names, Sums, and times of Subscription, of such of His Majestie's well-affected Subjects within your County as shall not have subscribed at this Lent-Assizes, their Names, Sums, and times of Subscription, to be likewise entred in the Paper-book. And, if this Letter come to your hands after the Assizes, then to appoint such times and places as may best speed this service, And further, your selfe, and the Justices of Peace, the Ministers of God's Word, and persons of quality within your County, are hereby earnestly desired to shew themselves active and exemplary in advancing this great and pious work; 'Tis a service tending so much to the glory of God, the honour and profit of His Majesty, and the peace and tranquillity of his three Kingdoms for the future. And you are likewise to informe those that shall under-write, that the Act of Parliament (which His Majesty hath promised to passe for the settling of those two Millions and a halfe of Acres) is already in hand, and that the Lands are to be divided so indifferently by Lot amongst them that under-write, that no one man whatsoever shall have more respect, or advantage, than another, in division. And, lastly, You are to give a speedy account to the Parliament of your proceedings herein, and of those that doe really advance this service. Thus, not doubting of your utmost care and diligence herein, we bid you heartily farewell.

Several Votes Resolved-upon by both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, concerning the securing of the Kingdom of ENGLAND and Dominion of WALES.

Resolved, upon the Question, by the Lords in Parliament, nemine contradicente.

THAT the Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the safety and defence of the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, is not any way against the Oath of Allegiance.

Resolved, &c. That the several Commissions granted, under the Great-Seal, to the Lieutenants of the several Counties, are illegal and void.

Resolved, &c. That whosoever shall execute any Power over the *Militia* of this Kingdom, and Dominion of *Wales*, by colour of any Commission of Lieutenancy, without consent of both Houses of Parliament, shall be accounted a disturber of the Peace of the Kingdom.

Die Martis, 15 Martii, 1641.

RESOLVED, &c. That the Kingdom hath been of late, and still is, in so evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad and a Popish and discontented

tented party at home; That there is an urgent and inevitable necessity of putting His Majestie's Subjects into a posture of defence, for the safeguard both of His Majesty and his People.

That the Lords and Commons, fully apprehending this danger, and being sensible of their own duty to provide a suitable prevention, Have, in several Petitions, addressed themselves to His Majesty, for the ordering and disposing of the *Militia* of the Kingdom, in such a way as was agreed-upon by the wisdom of both Houses, to be most effectual and proper for the present Exigences of the Kingdom; yet could not obtain it; but His Majesty did several times refuse to give his Royal assent thereunto.

Ordered, that the House of Peers agrees with the House of Commons in this Proposition.

Resolved, &c. That in this case of extreme danger, and of His Majestie's refusal, the Ordinance agreed-on by both Houses, for the *Militia*, doth oblige the people, and ought to be obeyed, by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.

Resolved, &c. That these shall be the Heads of a Declaration.

Resolved, &c. That such persons as shall be nominated Deputy-Lieutenants and approved-of by both Houses, shall receive the commands of both Houses, to take upon them to execute their Offices.

Ordered, by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, That these several Votes shall be forthwith Printed and Published.

John Brown, Cler. Parliament.

HUNTINGTON, 15 Martii, 1641.

HIS MAJESTIE'S *Message to both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, upon His removal to the City of YORK.*

HIS Majesty, being now upon His Remove to His City of *York*, where he intends to make His Residence for some time, thinks fit to send this Message to both Houses of Parliament.

That He doth very earnestly desire, that they will use all possible industry in expediting the businesse of *Ireland*, in which they shall find so cheerful a concurrence by His Majesty, that no inconvenience shall happen to that Service by His absence, He having all that Passion for the reducing of that Kingdom, which He hath expressed in his former Messages, and being unable by words to manifest more affection to it than He hath endeavoured to do by those Messages (having likewise done all such Acts as he hath been moved unto by his Parliament). Therefore, if the Misfortunes and Calamities of His poore Protestant Subjects there shall grow upon them (though His Majesty shall be deeply concerned in, and sensible of

of their sufferings) he shall wash his hands before all the World from the least imputation of slacknesse in that most necessary and pious work.

And, that His Majesty may leave no way unattempted, which may beget a good understanding between him and his Parliament, he thinks it necessary to Declare, That, as he hath been so tender of the Priviledges of Parliament that he hath been ready and forward to retract any Act of his own, which, he hath been informed, hath Trencht upon their Priviledges, so he expects an equal tendernes in them of His Majestie's known and unquestionable Priviledges (which are the Priviledges of the Kingdom) amongst which, he is assured, it is a fundamental One, "That His Subjects cannot be Obliged to Obey any Act, Order, or Injunction to which His Majesty hath not given his consent:" And therefore he thinks it necessary to publish, That he expects, and hereby requires, Obedience from all his loving Subjects, to the Laws established, and that they presume not, upon any pretence of Order or Ordinance (to which His Majesty is no Party) concerning the *Militia*, or any other thing, to doe or execute what is not warranted by those Laws; His Majesty being resolved to keep the Lawes himselfe, and to require obedience to them from all His Subjects.

And His Majesty once more recommends to his Parliament the substance of his Message of the twentieth of *January* last, that they compose and digest, with all speed, such Acts as they shall think fit, for the present and future establishment of their Priviledges; the free and quiet enjoying their Estates and Fortunes; The Liberties of their Persons; the security of the true Religion now professed in the Church of *England*; The maintaining His Majestie's Regal and just Authority, and settling his Revenue; His Majesty being most desirous to take all fitting and just ways, which may beget a happy understanding between him and his Parliament, in which he conceives His greatest power and riches doth consist.

The Votes of both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, concerning the KING's last Message, sent from Huntington, to both HOUSES, on Wednesday the sixteenth of March, 1641.

RESOLVED, &c. That this House shall insist upon their former Votes concerning the *Militia*.

Resolved, &c. That the King's absence so far remote from his Parliament, is not only an obstruction, but may be a destruction, to the affaires of *Ireland*.

Resolved, &c. That, when the Lords and Commons in Parliament, (which is the supreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdom,) shall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this declaration, not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a command issued that it should not be obeyed, is a high breach of the priviledge of Parliament.

Resolved,

Resolved, &c. That a Committee shall be appointed by this House to join with a Committee of the Lords, to enquire where this Message was framed.

Resolved, &c. That those persons that advise His Majesty to absent himself from the Parliament, are enemies to the peace of this Kingdom, and may justly be suspected to be favourers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

Resolved, &c. That those that advised His Majesty to this Message are enemies to the peace of this Kingdom, and justly to be suspected to be favourers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

A new Declaration of both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, sent to the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY, the sixteenth of March, upon His Removal from Huntington to YORK.

May it please your Majesty,

YOUR Majestie's most humble and faithful Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, having considered Your Majestie's Reply to their Answer, touching such persons as have been licensed by Your Majesty to pass into *Ireland*, do most humbly beseech Your Majesty to believe, that they shall always with thankfulness and joy receive from Your Majesty any satisfactory Answer to their just requests; And, as they hope, they shall find in Your Majesty a readinesse to rectifie those things which have been done to their prejudice, so will they be careful to remove all apprehensions of their Actions, or Speeches, which may seem to cast any dishonour upon Your Majesty.

For Your Majestie's better satisfaction concerning the positive affirmation, that many of the chief Commanders now in the head of the Rebels (after the Ports were stopped by Order of both Houses) have been suffered to passe by Your Majestie's immediate Warrant: May it please Your Majesty to consider that therein they have affirmed nothing but what they had cause to believe was true; the grounds whereof they humbly present to Your Majesty.

The first ground is this, that both Houses of Parliament, (having, upon Your Majestie's commendation, taken into their care the suppression of the Rebellion of *Ireland*) had reason to be especially watchful over the Ports, because the Rebels, abounding in numbers of men for the most part ignorant of the use of their Armes, could by no means become dangerous or formidable to this Kingdome, but by the accesse of Souldiers and Commanders, wherewith they were like to be furnished either out of *France* or *Flanders*; from both which places the passage into *Ireland* is speedy and easy through this Kingdome. And therefore they could not choose but be very sensible of whatsoever gave liberty, or opportunity, to such a passage, as of a very hurtful and dangerous grievance: for prevention whereof they did, upon the seventh of *November*, agree upon an Order, and restrain all pas-
sage

sage into *Ireland*, but upon due and strict examination by such persons as were trusted to make those Licences.

A second ground, that the other Licences granted to the Lord *Delvin*, and then acknowledged by Your Majestie's Answer, were such (both in regard of the persons to whom they were granted, and the extent of the words in which they were granted,) as were apt to produce such an effect as is mentioned in that positive Affirmation, that is, to open a way for the passage of Papists, and other dangerous persons, to join with the Rebels, and to be Heads and Commanders amongst them: which is thus proved.

The Warrant granted to Colonel *Butler*, since the order of restraint by both Houses of Parliament, did extend to all Ports of *England* and *Scotland*, and did give free passage to himself and to his Company, without any qualification of persons, or Limitations of Number: and this Colonel (who was himselfe a Papist, and had a Brother who was in Rebellion, and was a General of the Rebels in *Munster*,) was expected and very much desired by those Rebels; who, for a long time, kept a Regiment to be commanded by him, as we have been credibly informed.

The second was granted to a Son of the Lord *Nettersfield*; which Lord had four Sons in *England* since the Rebellion, one of which is settled in *England*, and the three others intended to passe into *Ireland*; and who were all dangerous persons, being Papists, bred in the Wars, in the service of the King of *Spain*; and one of them was lately become a Jesuit.

The third, granted to the Lord *Delvin*, extends to himselfe and foure persons more, unnamed. One of those who should have past with him, is taken to be a Jesuit; and another, who calls himself *Plonchet*, seems to be a man of some breeding and quality, and like to have been serviceable to the Rebels, and to have done mischief, if he had gone-over.

The fourth granted to Sir *George Hamilton*, and three more persons unnamed. This Gentleman is likewise a profest Papist, and may be doubted to be of the party of the Rebels, one of that Name being mentioned in the instructions of *Sempill* the Jesuit, amongst divers other dangerous persons of the Popish party in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; which instructions were found in a ship stayed in *Cornwall*, which was going into *Ireland* with divers Jesuits, Souldiers, and others, for the encouragement of the Rebels.

A third ground is this, That, by virtue and authority of these Licences, several persons have passed-over, who are now in Actual Rebellion, and joyned with the Rebels; and some have command amongst them: which is thus proved.

One Captain *Sutton* did, by virtue and authority of your Majestie's licence, embark at *Whitehaven*, in the company of Colonel *Butler*, and was driven-back by foul weather; Whereupon the Colonel stayed, and went to *Chester*; but that Captain re-embarked himself in the same Bottom, and passed into *Ireland*, where he went into Rebellion, with the Lord *Dunsany*, and hath since obtained the place of a Colonel amongst the Rebels; as we are very credibly informed.

Two

Two of the Sons of the Lord *Nettersfield*, one a Jesuite, and the other a Soldier, passed into *Ireland*, in *December* last; both of them by virtue of your Majesty's Warrant, as we have cause to believe; for that they went both together in one Ship, and the Licence, acknowledged to be granted by your Warrant, must needs be granted to one of them, seeing that the other Brother, who lately endeavoured to pass-over, did produce no Licence, and, upon his Examination, doth absolutely deny that he had any.

A fourth ground, (which we humbly offer to your Majesty,) is this, That your Majesty cannot be assured, that no other did pass upon your Licence, as your Majesty doth conceive, and is pleased to express in your Answer, and that we had great cause to believe, that divers others had passed-over by your Warrant, besides the persons afore-mentioned, and that, for these reasons;

1. Because we received such a general information, that divers, now in the head of the Rebels, were passed by your Majesty's Licence, which (being true in part, and easy to be effected, in regard of the Nature and extent of the Warrants, and probable to be attempted, in regard of the subtilty and vigilancy of that party, to make use of all advantages,) seemed to deserve credit; which we should not have given to it, if it had been a naked information, without such circumstances.

2. Because we had concurring Advertisements, from *Ireland* and *Chester*, that divers Priests, Jesuits, and Popish Commanders, had passed-over, and were landed there; and particularly some of Colonel *Butler's* Company; and that the officers of the Ports had kept no Entry of the names of these persons, or of the Warrants by which they were transported.

These Instances, we hope, will be sufficient to perswade your Majesty to believe, that, as we had some cause to give credit to the said Informations, so we had no intention to make any ill use of them to your Majesty's dishonour, but did impute the blame to your Ministers, who might have been more careful to have informed your Majesty of the Quality of those persons, named in your Licences, and so to have limited them, that they might not have extended to others, as they did, how many and dangerous soever.

And they pray your Majesty to rest assured, that they shall always be tender of your Honour and Reputation with your good Subjects; and for this cause have made this true Declaration of the full state of this matter, that they may think no otherwise of it than the truth: and in all things they shall labour to establish a good understanding and confidence betwixt your Majesty and your people; which they heartily desire and pray for, as the chiefest means of preserving the honour, safety, and prosperity of your Majesty and your Kingdom.

His

His MAJESTIE'S Answer to a Message sent to Him by the House of COMMONS, concerning Licences granted by Him to persons to goe into IRELAND.

HIS Majesty hath seen and considered the Messsage presented to Him by the Lord *Compton* and Master *Baynton*, the nineteenth of *March*, 1641, at *York*, Touching such persons as have been Licensed by His Majesty to passe into *Ireland*.

Though He will not insist upon what little Reason they had to suspect that some ill-affected persons had passed into *Ireland*, under colour of His Majestie's Licence (Inferences, slender Proofs to ground belief upon) yet He must needs avow, That, for any thing that is yet declared, He cannot see any ground why Master *Pym* should so boldly affirme before both Houses of Parliament, *That, since the stop upon the Ports by both Houses against all Irish Papists, many of the Commanders now in the head of the Rebels have been suffered to passe by His Majestie's immediate Warrant*; For as yet there is not any particular person named that is now so much as in Rebellion (much lesse in the head of the Rebels) to whom His Majestie hath given Licence.

And therefore, according to His Majestie's Reply upon that Subject, His Majesty expects, That His House of Commons should publish such a Declaration, whereby this mistaking may be cleared: That so all the World may see His Majestie's Caution in giving of Passes; and likewise, That His Ministers have not abused His Majestie's Trust, by any surreptitious Warrants.

And lastly, His Majesty expects, That hence-forth there be more Warinesse used, before such publick Aspersions be laid, unless the Grounds be before-hand better warranted by sufficient Proofs.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

May, Thomas,

The History of the Parliament of England, which began November the third 16
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London 1812

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